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K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI  
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## *Preface*

THE purpose of this brief survey of the history of India is to give a panoramic view of the march of events from the earliest known times to the present day so as to create and sustain in the reader an interest in the history and philosophy of India. The book is designed to help the reader appreciate the vast scope and value of Indian thought.

The political, social and economic problems of the country after 1947 when the country gained independence, have, in this book, received greater attention than the history of the past. To disentangle the story from the bewildering rise and fall of various dynasties in the Pre-British period, and from the intriguing wars and alliances of the British to attain primacy in India for presenting just what is necessary of the past to understand the present was no easy task for us. We leave the reader to judge the measure of success that has attended our efforts in this direction.

Our presentation will, we hope, convince the reader that India is fast developing into a free democracy and that the economic and social experiments she has been carrying out are calculated to help her take her legitimate place among the great nations of the world.

If this book serves to help young men and women of India to feel that they may well be proud of their past and build up a future on the flexible traditional values of the nation absorbing what is best in the West and if it in some measure, be it ever so small, serves to build a bridge of understanding between other nations whatever their form of government may be, and India, we shall feel that our labours in producing it have been amply rewarded.

K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI  
G. SRINIVASACHARI



*India—A Paradox*

## INDIA—A PART OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

THE name India comes from the name of the river which the Indians called 'Sindhu', the Persians 'Hindu' and the Greeks 'Indus'. Foreign historians have consistently been calling the country India. Indians themselves called their land Bhāratavarsha after the name of Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalā. They regarded Bhāratavarsha as the Southern division of Jambudvipa, one of the seven islands making up the world. The constitution of India retains the name India and also revives the traditional name Bharat.

The most interesting and at the same time very puzzling thing about India is that it has a wider variety of geographic, climatic and economic conditions than any other country in the world. To take climate for example, the southern portions of the country lie within the torrid zone, while its Northern region advances into the temperate zone beyond latitude 35°. The South West and the North East Monsoons are as important to India as are the perennial

## India

snows of the Himalayas. Climate and rainfall are no doubt factors influencing the history of any country, but some historians in their attempt to account for the peculiar traits in the history, philosophy and art of India lay undue emphasis on the enervating climate of the country and the effects of its physical configuration in judging Indian character. The rise of the Maharatta power and of the Sikhs and the renascence of modern India show clearly that climate as a factor in Indian History is not so very significant as sometimes stated.

The Himalayas on the North and the seas on the East, West and South appear to cut off India from the rest of the world, but while they helped her more to attain her distinct individuality, it never meant isolation of India because of the passes in the mountains and of her central position in the Indian Ocean. She has from the remotest past maintained an unbroken contact with every civilization, the Egyptian, the Sumerian, the Mediterranean and the Chinese. The North Western Passes have been the gateways of India for nomadic tribes of Central Asia to migrate and settle in India. The Himalayas, in spite of their dizzy heights and forbidding snow, have never stood as a complete barrier between the people of India and those of the other side. The ocean held no terrors for Indians who in a spirit of adventure colonized Java, Sumatra, Bali and the entire East Indies. And this was not the beginning but continuation of pre-historic movements.

Prof. Childe in his *Dawn of European Civilization* maintains that the Occident is "indebted to the Orient for the rudiments of arts and crafts that initiated man's emancipation from bondage to his environment and for the foundation of those spiritual ties that coordinate human endeavours". Surely the Orient included India.

The three cycles into which chroniclers usually divide Indian History are the Indo-Aryan, the Indo-Islamic and the Indo-European. In fact it is not possible to divide the history of India into three such clear-cut periods, for these periods naturally overlap one another in social and cultural affairs. Considered from the historiographic point of view they are inter-related, but each had its distinctive applications and atmosphere contributing something special to the cultural development of India. In India, as

elsewhere, the centuries follow a regular progression in spite of revolutionary political changes. True, India was for a long time politically divided into segments but these segments have organically fitted into a culture pattern which made India a distinct entity.

For many years it was held that the earliest human species originated along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, but in the nineteenth century anthropologists on the basis of fragmentary skeletal remains put forward the theory that the African Continent was the birth place of mankind. In recent times some writers on the basis of geological evidence have argued that Southern India containing some of the oldest rocks of the world might well have been the earliest home zone of man, but this theory lacks archaeological evidence in support.

It is agreed that the momentous revolution on domestication of animals and agriculture had its beginning somewhere in South West Asia. By about 5000 B.C. there were permanently settled communities in Palestine, Iraq and Iran; each extended eastward as far as India and West and South to Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. It must be observed that in Europe the new way of life spread very slowly and that the hunting people of that region remained undisturbed for thousands of years. Early historic migrations were wonderfully long and spread over a large area of the earth. In spite of the natural hazards cultural evolution within a limited region has always outstripped cultural diffusion. The vast Acheulian territory shows a remarkable uniformity in its cultural products. "If collectors went out on from London, Jerusalem, Cape Town and Madras all four might find hand-axes which could not be distinguished one from the other unless it was by the material from which they had been made."<sup>1</sup> But this same level of development cannot mean that somehow men arose independently in all these places about the same time. We are to this day ignorant about the early home zone of *Homo Sapiens*. However, we have got into the habit of tracing the gradual spread of human beings over the globe on the basis of useful guesses made by scientists.

India after its political division in 1947 is a truncated country.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Mankind*. p. 75, vol: I.

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Sind, a part of the Punjab, Baluchistan and N.W.F. Province became West Pakistan and East Bengal, East Pakistan. History shows that the Punjab for ages remained as a frontier province not fully integrated with the rest of India. Later Vedic literature mentions the Punjab and the North West rarely and usually with contempt as impure land where Vedic sacrifices were not performed. By an irony of fate, they have become parts of Pakistan (the land of the pure).

Partition of Country into Pakistan and India was viewed as a painful necessity by the nationalists both Hindu and Muslim.

Now the Gandhian principle of non-violence which helped India in winning her freedom has attracted world-wide attention. India has voluntarily chosen to continue to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. This has helped India to retain the love and esteem of the members of the Commonwealth of Nations. "India is in fact a good Commonwealth member; she fulfils her obligations as a member of the sterling area and her treatment of United Kingdom citizens living and working in India is exemplary."<sup>2</sup> As a member of the United Nations Organization India has been making her voice felt on the affairs of the world. Indians have been holding high offices in the U.N.O. and have been members of several important commissions and committees appointed by the U.N.O. and its organs. At the Bandung conference was evolved the principle of the *Panchashila* largely at the instance of India. At present her relations with her neighbours, particularly Pakistan and China, are not altogether happy for reasons which will be given in a later chapter.

India is not militarily mighty. But still most progressive nations of the world consider her as a force for peace in the world. It was during the British period, because of her political subordination, that India remained somewhat in isolation from the rest of the world. Nevertheless, the contact with Britain helped India to establish trade and cultural relations with almost every country in the world. The Indo-Islamic cycle which lasted from the twelfth century almost to the end of the eighteenth century brought India into contact with the then most civilized countries of the world.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern India*, Sir Percival Griffiths, p. 275.

The art and architecture of India influenced Mughal art and in turn allowed themselves to be influenced. In the mediæval period the Arabs held the carrying trade for a long time and through them Bhāskara's Calculus and the Astrolabe, ideas of latitude and longitude and numerals including zero and the decimal system of the place value of the numerals passed from India to Europe. The Hindu period in North India may be said to have ended about the twelfth century A.D. It is the longest period in the history of India. Excavations in South India and Indo-China show that the Romans carried on a flourishing trade with India and South East Asia.

The first early Indian civilization is that of the Indus Valley now in Pakistan. The hey-day of the 'Harappa Culture', as it is called, lasted from 2500 to 1500 B.C. The beginnings only date back to 3000 B.C. There are evidences to show that this civilization had lively contacts with the pre-Akkadian and post-Akkadian Culture of Mesopotamia. It was contemporaneous with the Egyptian civilization. It is said that the muslin in which mummies of Egypt were wrapped went from India. That the early Aryan settlers in India had intimate contact with the people of Persia is clear. Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans, is akin to Greek, Latin and Germanic and Slavic languages.

Buddhism which sprang in the sixth century B.C. commanded tremendous influence outside India in course of time. It claimed converts in China and later in Japan. It became the dominant religion of Tibet and of South East Asia, where, however, Brahminical Hinduism was equally important.

In the closing years of the sixth century B.C. the North West region, now part of Pakistan, was conquered by the Persian King, Darius the Great. This conquest established links between India and the Greek world at the western end of the Persian Empire. Alexander's invasion of India (326 B.C.) was only an extension of his Persian campaign. This brought closer contact of India with Greece.

Chandragupta's empire extended to Kabul in Afghanistan, then called Gandhāra. Asoka's trilingual inscription at Kandahar shows the extent of his empire as well as that of the influence of Buddhism.

The civilization of India spread into the countries of the South



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East Asia; until recently, the coronation ceremonies of the Muhammedan kings there, were akin to those of the Hindu Kings. The architecture of Borobudur (Java), and Ankorwat are monumental examples of the spread of Indian culture. The people of the island of Bali to the East of Java still retain Vedic *mantras* and ceremonials.

From the period of pre-history to the present age of atomic energy, India has been in close contact with almost every civilization of every age in the world. Well may it be said that India from time immemorial has been a part of Universal history.

The Western Bloc headed by U.S.A. is keenly interested in India because it is the largest democracy in the world. The Communist Bloc headed by Russia is equally interested in India because of the economic planning on the socialist pattern. By her policy of non-alignment India has been retaining a certain measure of the confidence and esteem of both the blocs.

## 2. THE STORY OF BUILDING UP THE HISTORY OF INDIA

The building up of the history of India has a long and interesting story which requires a volume to itself. A brief review of it is necessary to help the general reader appreciate the hard, patient work of successive generations of Indologists to re-construct the history of India.

In spite of the fact that no country in the world is richer than India in documents, monuments and archives commemorating the facts, public and private, of past history, there is a widespread notion that Indians have no historical sense and no taste for history. A.L. Basham says: "It is perhaps unjust to maintain that India had no sense of history whatever". Indeed the interest that India had in her own past was concentrated not only on the fabulous kings of legendary golden age but also on the great empires with their origin and fall in historical times. The most ancient book of the world, the *Rig Veda*, contains much reliable historical material. However, sources sufficient to enliven the history of certain periods of Hindu India, with interesting anecdotes and vivid personalities, are no doubt lacking. Kalhana, a Kashmiri poet of the twelfth century A.D., wrote the history of his land in verse and named it

*Rajatarangini* (River of Kings). It is of great value for the study of the history of Kashmir, but unfortunately it tells us very little of India as a whole. This, however, suggests that, in the courts of ancient kings, evidences of chief importance to State were carefully recorded. It is a pity that such records should have been completely lost to us.

To the conquering races of the West, India appeared to be remote from their own ideas and civilization. In the first flush of success they looked down upon the Indians, the Hindus in particular, as inferior to them in every respect. To their discomfiture, they soon learned that India was the first recorded home of the Aryans from a branch of whom their own ancestors were believed to have sprung. It was a wonder to them that at a time when Rome and Athens were yet in the womb of a far off future, when Troy and Mycenae were unborn, when Sheikh Abraham had not yet founded his race, mothers in the Punjab had been telling their children stories, myths and legends akin to those about the Greek heroes and gods. Before the Aryans migrated into India, there had been living in the country, people whose urban civilization continues to be a marvel of the world.

For a large part of the political history of their country Indians are indebted to foreign travellers and foreign scholars. One of the great moments in Indology was the time when European scholars took active interest in the study of Sanskrit. Until the last half of the nineteenth century the early history of India was known to Europeans only from brief passages in the works of Greek and Latin authors. Early European studies of India's past mostly related to speculations about the link of the Indians with the descendants of Noah and the vanished empires of the Bible. The contribution of Jesuits to the study of Sanskrit is great and the first Sanskrit grammar in "European tongue was written by Father Hanxladen who worked in Malabar from 1699-1732. It must be observed that for all their studies most missionaries gained no real understanding of India's past". Often they tore passages out of their contexts to hold up to ridicule Hindu beliefs and customs.

The foundations of Indology were laid by Sir William Jones (1746-94) who came to Calcutta as a judge of the Supreme Court, when Warren Hastings was the Governor-General. Jones learnt

several important European languages as well as Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He was indeed a linguistic genius. It was he who first enunciated that the Persian and the European languages were derived from a common ancestor other than Hebrew. Charles Wilkins (1740-1836), one of the administrators of the East India Company in Bengal, managed to learn the Sanskrit language. The foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the first of January 1784 was a turning point in the history of modern Sanskrit studies. Warren Hastings who was offered the post of the President, in all humility, persuaded Jones to accept it.

*Asiatic Researches*, the journal of the society took concerted measures to reveal India's past to the world. Several important translations of Sanskrit works appeared in successive issues of *Asiatic Researches*. Important among the translations made by Jones were Kalidasa's *Sākuntala* and the *Law Book of Manu*. Several other European scholars followed the example of these pioneers of Indology. A French scholar Anquetil Duperron published translations of four Upanishads from seventeenth century Persian version. These translations roused the interest of European scholars in Sanskrit literature. It is impossible in a brief survey like this to do justice to all the scholars to whom Indology owes a great deal. The greatest contribution to Sanskrit studies made by England was the splendid edition of *Rig Veda* and the great series of authoritative annotated translations, *Sacred Books of the East*. These two monumental works were done by the great German Sanskritist, Max Müller (1823-1900).

Early in the nineteenth century the Bengal Society, not content with the study of written records, turned its attention to material remains of India's past. The Company surveyors gathered many reports on temples, caves and shrines. They collected early coins and copies of inscription in scripts that were not then in vogue. The second great moment in Indology came when James Prinsep, an official of the Calcutta Mint and secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, interpreted for the first time the earliest Brahmi script. He was able to read the edicts of the great Emperor Asoka. Among those who with single-hearted devotion addressed themselves to the task of unravelling India's past must be mentioned Cunningham who held the post of Archaeological Surveyor from 1862 to his

retirement in 1885. By 1900 through his guidance many ancient buildings had been surveyed, many ancient inscriptions read and translated.

The best service done to India by Lord Curzon was in 1901, when he reformed and enlarged the Archaeological Survey. He appointed a young archaeologist named John Marshall as Director General. Marshall's greatest triumph was the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. He with the assistance of R.D. Banerjee systematically excavated Harappa and Mohenjodaro from 1924 until his retirement in 1931. Mortimer Wheeler during his brief period of Directorship also made some important discoveries at Harappa. All these discoveries startled historians all over the world, and pushed the evidence of India's antiquity to nearly 3000 B.C. But unfortunately the language of the seals of Harappa still remain undeciphered. Remarkable excavations at Taxila, Sarnath, Nalanda and Sanchi and other historic sites have made very considerable additions to our knowledge of the past and brought certainty and definiteness into its successive epochs. Excavations are still going on; there is no knowing what wonders of the past they may reveal.

Inscriptions of stone and metal counted by hundreds in the North and thousands in the South are among the most copious and authentic sources of ancient Indian History. The history of the early Pallavas and Pandyas would be blank without the evidence from about a score or more copper plate records. The evidence provided for us by the coins issued by the rulers of old help us with much information and fill up the gaps in the history. Coins called *Puranas* were in circulation from seventh century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian Era. About the Indo-Greeks and Kushans coins are our main source of information. Justin and Strabo mentioned not more than four or five princes of the Indo-Greek line, while coins speak of not less than thirty-seven princes. Some of these coins, so decidedly of Hellenistic conception, depict the influence of Buddhism and Hinduism. These coins unmistakably show cultural intermingling of the East and West. The state of the currency, so far as we can trace, offers a valuable clue to the economic condition of the people. Monuments, sculptures, paintings and other works of art belonging to all periods are invaluable aids to

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our understanding of the conditions of life that prevailed in respective epochs. The *puranas* and the epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, though obscured by many layers of imaginary legends, do contain useful historical materials, and Vincent Smith was very definite that historians should use the materials contained in them. Buddhist and Jain books of a quasi-historical nature make an invaluable contribution to the study of Indian history.

With the coming in of the Muslims we get an abundance of chronicles and histories, official and private. For example, Ferishta's history written in the early part of seventeenth century is an admirable work of research and synthesis. Among travellers' accounts must be mentioned Herodotus of the fifth century B.C. and Megasthenes who visited Chandragupta's court. Parts of his work have survived to give us an account of the Mauryan administration. The accounts of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India such as Fa-hien, Hiuentang and I-tsing are of unsurpassed value. Alberuni (A.D. 1030) gives an excellent critical account of Hindu society, learning and literature as he found them, but it is of little value as a source of political history.

For Indo-European history we have a mass of contemporary papers, official and private. The field is vast, very little of it has yet been studied from the Indian point of view and Indian scholars have to work quite a number of years to give shape to the history of this period.

Most of the early historians of India have been Europeans. The first reliable book on Ancient India was that of Vincent Smith. Bhandarkar and other Indian scholars have contributed a great deal to the shaping of Indian History. While European orientalists have unbounded admiration and respect for India's literature, religion and art, those who belonged to the utilitarian school of thought had nothing but contempt for Indian customs, manners and religion. James Mill, father of the liberal Stuart Mill, brushed aside the Hindu period, writing much nonsense about it and began the history of India with the advent of the Muslims. Some Indian scholars, proud of the admiration of orientalists, have been unduly chauvinistic in their writings. Among those that have shown an understanding of the true Indian spirit must be mentioned the Great German Antiquarian Lassen of the nineteenth century, E.B.

Havell and A.L. Basham besides many others of different nations like Lanman and Bloomfield in America, Kern and Vogel in Holland, Sten Konow and Fausboll in the Scandinavian countries. Burnouf, Syloain, Levi and Greuouset in France. There is an unmistakable tendency among most European writers of the history of India to attempt to trace every thing good in India to the West or to some other foreign origin. In the early days of the British conquest European scholars had opportunities to know more about Muslims than about Hindus. Certain common elements in Christianity and Islam made these scholars favour Muslims; the accident of Muslims having been in power had no small influence on their somewhat respectful attitude towards them. More than all, their superiority complex was heightened by their political success in India. The Hindus who formed the bulk of the population stubbornly resisted attempts at conversion, and presumably because of this Hindus came to be looked down upon by those Europeans who were interested in the spread of Christianity. The tendency to attribute anything good to foreign origin may be seen in the exaggerated importance attached by some Western writers to the influence of Islam and Sermon on the Mount on Tolstoy, and Gandhi. The Mahatma was a traditionalist who owed much more to Maratha mystic poetry and *Bhagavadgita* than to any other source. His ideas of human solidarity and brotherhood, his message of Truth, Love and *Ahimsa* are all derived from Hindu precedents.

### 3. PARADOXES

India is passing through a period of transition. The chief trend is towards change, but the pace of change and its exact nature are difficult to describe and much more difficult to evaluate. Most Western writers study India invariably with preconceived notion of contrasting conditions of Eastern and Western cultures. Their hypothesis is that the culture of the East is in many respects a contrast to that of the West, and even conflicting. This is not the place to enter into any great detail about the problem of East versus West.

Science and her naughty daughter technology have so revolution-

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ized the material culture of the world, annihilating distance and radically changing men's minds, that the past is looked down upon as a millstone hanging round the neck of a nation that desires progress in terms of improved standards of living and comfort. In the discussion of the contrasting values of the East and West, even moral qualities and values have acquired contrasting connotations of Eastern and Western civilizations. Hardly is it realized that fundamental moral values are universal. Truth, justice, mercy, kindness, charity and similar moral qualities are valued by all right thinking men everywhere in the world. They know neither East nor West. Falsehood, injustice, cruelty and uncharitableness deserve to be condemned by all, to whatever race, area, sect or caste they may belong. So, fundamental moral values cannot vary with the East or West; the contrast is not at all with the East and the West, but between those who profess the values and those who practise them. But it is not the same as saying that what one group considers to be right should also be right for another group. In one society it is right for a person to marry his sister's daughter, but another society may condemn it as wrong. This is purely a matter of custom and no fundamental moral quality is involved in it.

Mayhew, who believed that the spread of Christianity in India would remove cultural antagonism and ensure the protection of moral values says:

When we think of what through our instruction, the Indian can do and must do to gain a livelihood, we imagine him in his government or mercantile office, pleading in the law courts, practising in the hospitals, and even doing in executive councils or ministries the work that, for a century, has been reserved to the 'Heaven-born' of the Civil Service, he is western and one with us... If we follow the clerk home from his office, or the agricultural labourer, who has achieved literacy in the village school, home from the plough and watch his employment of his leisure, his search after happiness in his family or communal life, we shall find the Oriental, not the Occidental... Practically everything is shed that has been acquired at such cost from school and college and contact with the West... The western train

is used for reaching the place of sacred pilgrimage, and the electric fan for cooling the performer of domestic rites and ceremonies. Mayhew describes one kind of paradox which seems inexplicable to him.

To another writer the present trend in India appears to be from the old traditional, hierarchical, other-worldly, religion based view of life towards one, which while still rooted in India's past, will reflect increasingly the whole complex of ideas, values, and technology originally borrowed from the West. How fast will the transition be? How much will be taken from the West permanently, now that India is free to choose? If the contrast between the old and the new were only a matter of technology, the answer would be clear. India is adopting as much of Western industrial technology as she can afford to do and as quickly as possible.<sup>3</sup> The hypothesis of the writer is that ideas and values of the technological age are Western and if Eastern countries adopted them they should be regarded as borrowings. A little reflection will show that neither science nor technology can truly be called Western or Eastern. All scientific inventions and technological devices, wherever they may have originated belong to the world, not to the area or the people living in it. The spread of the use of machinery for agricultural and industrial pursuits is primarily a question of time and money and not of the East or the West.

Somehow or other the contrasting conditions of the East and the West have become fixed even in the minds of great men who have striven to rise above narrow nationalism. Twelve years before becoming Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, when he was in prison wrote:

I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways. . . . I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also sometimes I have an exile's feeling.

<sup>3</sup> Beatrice Pithey Lamb, *A World in Transition*, p. 333.



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This is Nehru's introspection; he refers to conditions of life in India that are very different from those he experienced during his stay in England. This does not mean that Nehru argues that Eastern civilization is different from that of the West.

It is a paradox that the general masses of India have a kind of hostility towards the things of the West. All great Indians of the nineteenth century were not able to gain any recognition from their own countrymen, nor exert any influence over them until they were recognized in the West. Swami Vivekananda's case serves as a fitting example. He was respected only after he had made his name, in America. He was conscious of a gulf between himself and the mass of India. He was a staunch supporter of the national tradition. But in an involuntary slip he seems to throw away his case: "Can you make a European Society with India's religion?" he asked and he answered, "I believe it is possible, and must be." The Swami perhaps thought that India's religion was incompatible with European society. But he was so attracted by the high standard of life of the Europeans that he very much wished that the poor Indian could somehow be helped to improve his standard of living.

India presents a variety of natural regions and climate. It presents a combination of elements that seem to belong to different worlds. All ethnic groups of the world are found living in India to this day. The streets in any city present handcarts pulled by men, bullockcarts, lorries and motor cars, while aeroplanes fly high in the sky. It is these contrasting differences that make India interesting as well as confusing to foreigners.

From the incongruities of India it is wrong to think, as some western writers do, that the Indians have any innate or religious disability to draw new life from the soil or use machinery for their industries. As for political theories, the *Arth Sāstra* in Sanskrit was a favourite special of Indians some centuries before the Christian Era. This shows the early development of Indian political science. "The king", wrote Yajnavalkya, "must discipline and establish again on the path of duty, all such as have erred from their own laws whether families, castes, guilds or associations." Buddhist texts give examples of representative self-governing institutions. It may come as a surprise to many Westerners unacquainted with India that in

the assemblies of the Buddhists in India 2000 years ago, there were rudiments of the British Parliamentary practice of the present day. There were officers to preserve the dignity of the house such as are akin to those of the modern 'speaker' and 'chief whip'. The member of the assembly initiating business brought forward a motion which was then open to discussion. There was also a custom of reading a resolution three times before it became law. Difference of opinion on any matter was settled by the vote of the majority, the voting being done by a ballot. In South India an inscription of the tenth century A.D. in the Vaikunta Perumal Temple at Uttaramallur gives numerous details about the system of village self-government, including the principle of election. Thus it will be seen that the system of representative government was long known in India. If a union of Hindu and European learning has not been sufficiently effected this should be attributed to the failure of British rule in India. We will in a separate chapter note the developments of democracy in India. What is puzzling to some Westerners is the three ways by which the Hindu sought to reach his spiritual goal, namely, the *Gnana Marga* or Way of Knowledge, *Karma Marga* or Way of Action, and the *Bhakti Marga* or Way of Complete Devotion to God. We will later show that *Dharma*, *Karma* and *Maya* of the Hindu do not stand in the way of political or economic progress of India.

*Religion and Nationalism.* Almost all major religions of the world are represented in India. The bulk of the population belong to Hindu religion. Hinduism defies definition. Hindu culture has shown its vitality by maintaining its tradition unbroken to the present day from the fourth millennium B.C., in spite of several attacks, Hellenic, Muslim and European among others. Its historic vitality shows that it has been built on the bedrock of spirituality; as it is built on intuitive wisdom it is of permanent value. It can never become obsolete like scientific knowledge.

Hinduism adopts the attitude of toleration. It recognizes the relative truths in all other religions. Its toleration is not a matter of policy, or expediency. It is enjoined as a duty. Some great thinkers of the world who have studied the spiritual basis of Hinduism believe that the basic principles of Hindu religion would

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help to establish a just social order and bring about generous human relations among peoples of the world.

Nationalism is a historic phenomenon; there was a time when it did not exist. Its first appearance in Europe was in Germany during the illfamed Thirty Years War (1618-48). Especially after the French Revolution (1789) nationalism to some extent took the place of religion. If nationalism is regarded as something more than the serving of the population of a country, for attainment of political independence, we cannot say when exactly it began in India. As a political movement we may say it began with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Regionalism, casteism and lingulism are factors that affect the development of nationalism. India is trying to overcome in her own way the forces that operate against national unity and solidarity, by trying to establish a just social order bringing about economic improvement of the masses.

In 1947 India achieved success in her political revolution. This was led by the intelligentsia of the country with the support of industrialists and merchant community and of the masses under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The duration of the active struggle for independence was only a few decades.

With the dawn of independence a social and economic revolution was set in motion. The most important aim of this revolution is to improve standard of living of the masses by developing on a vast scale modern industry and communications system. The number of people who can be classed as rich is comparatively small in India. The population of India is a little over 439 million. This is bound to increase in the future, as the figure of 1961 census shows, the birth rate per thousand in 1951 was 40.9, in 1961 it was 40; almost static, the death rate has decreased from 27.4 to 18.0 while expectation of life at birth has increased from 32 to 45. The problem of India's poverty is very serious. The question is: How quickly can the social and economic revolution be effected ?

A comparison of the earlier industrial revolution in Europe will be instructive. Taking 1750 as the beginning of the industrial revolution in Britain we may say that British industry has had nearly two centuries in which to develop. France and the United States have had a century and a half, Germany a century and Russia and Japan half a century. The example of England

in the passing of factory laws makes India avoid the incidental troubles in the matter of treatment of labour. What time can India take for the development of her industry? Her Five Year plans provide an answer which will be dealt with in a future chapter. Will the rapidity of the increase in India's population mean that the standard of living may not rise but fall? This question too will be discussed later. One thing seems clear that the peasants and agricultural labourers are already impatient. They cannot put up with conditions in which their standard of living will rise only slowly. On 26, August 1963, the Planning Minister G.L. Nanda pointed out that the average per capita 'consumer expenditure' of 60 per cent of the population was seven and a half annas per day, while the opposition put it lower still on the basis of national income. Whatever be the actual figure it is a fact that most people in India have to spend more than they earn and are therefore for ever in debt. In such circumstances, the problem of improving the standard of living of the people is an extraordinarily difficult one for the Government of India.

*The People of India*

INDIA contains a larger variety of human types than any other country in the world. Palaeolithic and neolithic remains discovered as far apart as Bellary in Andhra and Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh clearly show that parts of India have been inhabited by people from a remote time. However, the theory put forward is that the ancestors of the Indians came from a number of regions outside India, far removed from one another.

The population of India according to the census of 1961 is 439 millions; of them the scheduled castes number 64.5 millions and scheduled tribes nearly 30 millions. It is believed that these tribes are the oldest inhabitants of India, and that they are akin to Negritos and Proto-Australoids. The dominant ethnic strains in India are akin to those of the early Mediterranean and the Aryan.

The process of amalgamation of cultures, religions and languages in India began as early as the days of the civilization revealed by

the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. This Indus civilization is dated 2500 B.C. The beautiful cities unearthed were built by master planners who had had the accumulated knowledge of several centuries before them. The remains of this civilization in India spread over an area including Kathiawar, Baluchistan, Sind, and Punjab right up to Rupar. Whether the originators of this civilization were immigrants from somewhere in the Mediterranean region or people indigenous to the soil is still a matter of controversy among scholars.

There is evidence to show that the people of these ancient cities left their abodes in a hurry, but why they did so is still largely a matter of conjecture; may be due to flood or epidemic or invasion. But there is reason to believe that the descendants of those people are still to be found among the inhabitants of India; and the question Who are they ? is really difficult to answer.

It may broadly be said that the whites predominate in the North West from Kashmir to Rajputana and the blacks in the South. In the neighbourhood of Tibet and Upper Burma the Mongolian traits of high cheek-bones and yellow skins are in evidence. Admittedly the criteria of race are uncertain and one should be wary of importing any racial conflict in India as distinctly different from cultural or religious conflicts.

According to the census report of 1961 in India the Hindus were a little over 366 million (85 per cent); the Muslims about 47 millions (10.2 per cent); Christians 10.4 millions (2.4 per cent); Sikhs nearly 8 millions (1.8 per cent); Buddhists a little over 3 millions (a little less than 1 per cent); and Jains less than the number of Buddhists. The number of Buddhists rose nearly eight times in 1961 over the figure of 1951; and this is presumably because of Dr. Ambedkar's preference to Buddhism for scheduled castes.

The definition of a Hindu according to the law prevailing is bound to be of interest.

"A Hindu is one or other of two classes of persons shown below as 'A' or 'B':

"(A) Hindu is a person, irrespective of sex, age, mental condition or religious belief, who is not a Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jew by religion provided (i) that he is domiciled in India, and (ii)

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that he could have been governed by Hindu law or by any custom derogating from Hindu law if the Code had not been passed . . . .  
(B) A Hindu may also be a person, whether domiciled in India or not, who is a Hindu by religion. For this purpose all sects and developments of Hinduism, even those which are regarded as non-Hindu in some respects such as Lingayats or Brahmos, are Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs are Hindus for this purpose. Wherever the word 'Hindu' occurs we are to understand a person to whom the Hindu Code applies though he may not be in fact a Hindu by religion according to any theological definition. . . . A convert to, or a reconvert, to the Hindu, Buddhist, Jaini or Sikh religion is a Hindu."<sup>1</sup>

The four great linguistic families of India are: (1) Indo-Aryan (2) Dravidian (3) Austric (4) Sino-Tibetan. At present languages of the Indo-Aryan family prevail practically in the whole of Northern India and Maharashtra, while Eastern Deccan and South India constitute the Dravidian Zone.

Recent studies of language have established the existence of another group of languages, called Munda or Kolarian, which belong to the Mon-Khmer family of languages found in Indo-China and are distantly related to other groups falling under Austro-Asiatic. The speakers of these languages are now found in the Mahadeo hills (Kurku tribe), in the Himalayas, and most of all in Chota Nagpur (about 3,000,000). They are mostly dark skinned aborigines, but their wide diffusion shows that they must once have occupied a much wider area than now, a conclusion supported by the analysis of place-names. The Munda languages are certainly as old as the Dravidian, probably much older. Some hold that the Aryans met and mingled with the Munda people, and that the changes in the phonetics and vocabulary of the Vedic language can be explained on the basis of Munda influence much better than on that of Dravidian. The almost total disappearance of Munda languages from the North in contrast with the continued survival of Dravidian

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law*, Duncan. M. Derrett, p. 18-19.

speeches in the South may also indicate that Munda civilization was less solidly organized than Dravidian.<sup>2</sup>

We do not yet have a clear picture of the origin and early culture of the Dravidian-speaking people. But it is clear that pre-Aryan inhabitants in India were not only people speaking dialects of the Dravidian languages but also others. The Vedic *mantras* mention the names of about forty tribes who inhabited the regions known to their composers. The centre of this region was a district round the Saraswati, south of modern Ambala. These tribes were not primitive. They tilled the ground, raised crops of various kinds and worked in metals. There is evidence to show that they traded with foreign countries exporting teak, peacock, spices, pearls and probably woven cloth.

Caldwell indicated a connection between Susian and Dravidian languages as regards structure. Some ancient place-names in the highlands of Iran and Mesopotamia have been shown to conform to Dravidian forms. The construction, organization and rituals of the temples of ancient Sumeria had much in common with temples of South India. All these show that there was considerable communication between South India and Western Asia in remote times. However, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the Dravidians, for the oldest works now available in Dravidian were written long after their contact with Aryan culture.

The early history of India is based on the theory of the Aryan invasion of India propounded by anthropologists and philologists who were struck by the similarities between Sanskrit and Germanic languages. It cannot at present be definitely stated whether the Dravidian people came to India from outside or were the natives of the country, though most western scholars regard them as the people of the Mediterranean region.

In historical times new elements entered the ranks of Indian people. Their effect on the composition of the Indian society was proportionate to their numbers. Till about the seventh century B.C. mingling of these groups with the inhabitants of India went on. Those who lived at the foot-hills and mountains of the Punjab,

<sup>2</sup> History of India, K.A.N. Sastri, Part I. p. 28.



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Kashmir, and upper Tarai of the Eastern Himalayas appear to have kept a little aloof from the general current of culture. In the thick forests of Western India there were perhaps tribes who may have resisted changes then as now. Generally speaking, the mingling of the people brought about a composite culture predominantly Aryan. The Aryan social organization and norms appear to have been accepted by the people. In those days inter-marriages were common. There were no restrictions about inter-dining. Society placed no impediments to a man's desire to better himself and religion was largely regarded as an individual's own affair. Even in those early days people appear to have accepted the doctrine of *Karma* and Rebirth. They believed that man enjoyed the possession of the good things of this world according to his good or bad deeds in past life. It was this belief in the doctrine of *Karma*, that was largely responsible for promoting a spirit of tolerance.

The Persians came to India in the seventh century before Christ. The Macedonians were followed by the Greeks in the wake of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. For nearly two hundred years the Parthians, and Bactrians from across the Hindu-kush continued to pour into India. Then came the Sakas and Pahlavas. The Kushans and other tribes from Central Asia made the Punjab and North Western Frontier Province as their home. The Huns came, in somewhat larger numbers, at the close of the Gupta epoch. They established their authority in the Punjab. When Mihrgula's territory was invaded he took refuge in Kashmir and made it a jumping off ground for his return to the Punjab. All these people were Indianized. Few tangible traces remain of their original identity. It seems probable that the Rajput dynasties that came into prominence in the seventh century A.D. had a large measure of Hunnish blood in their veins. When in the eighth century A.D. the Muslims conquered Persia and forced people to embrace Islam, the Parsis who found it impossible to live peacefully in Persia sought refuge in India. The Parsis though small in number have played a great part in the commercial and industrial development of India. To this day they have retained their religion and culture, while the other newcomers before them had accepted Hinduism or Buddhism as their faith.

Colonies of foreign merchants settled along the coast, particularly in South India, from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. The Moplahs of Malabar are the products of union between Muslim merchants from Arabia and the women of the West Coast. The Muslim immigration into India began with the Arab invasion of Sind early in the eighth century culminating in the establishment of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century. Among the Muslims that came to India were Iranian Muslims akin to Indo-Aryan, Turks, and Mongols. Their merging with the people and conversions of the indigenous population to Islam tended to assimilate the Muslims to the rest of the population in general appearance but they continued to follow their religion. It must be noted that the converts to Islam kept up a large part of their customary law. Even now there are sects among Muslims to whom the Hindu law applies. A common heritage of Hindus and Muslims is veneration for saints and love of festivals.

There is a tradition of doubtful authenticity that St. Thomas, one of the apostles of Christ, came to India from Syria in the early decades of first century A.D. and was martyred. It is unnecessary for us to get into the details of the Northern and Southern theories on the martyrdom of St. Thomas. Syrian Christians in the state of Kerala claim that they belong to the church founded by the Apostle Thomas in person. Whatever may be the truth about the visit of St. Thomas there is good reason to believe that Christians were established as a body in India by the third century A.D. Syrian Christians number about a million at present. The Jews came to India but not in large numbers. Now there are two communities of Jews living at Cochin in Kerala. Both of them claim to have sought refuge there, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Romans in 70 A.D.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India. They were soon followed by the Dutch, English, French and Danes. The Europeans who came to India did not make India their home. Their presence in India, however, added what is called the Anglo-Indian strain to the country. They are Christians in religion and descendants of Indian mothers and European fathers. They have adopted a kind of European way of life. Their number is small.

Thus we find that the people of India belong to different ethnic

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types, follow different religions and speak different languages. But they are heirs to the composite culture of India. They are all equal citizens of India and are proud that they are Indians.

*Background of History*

## A PANORAMIC VIEW OF HINDU INDIA

WE have noted that Indian history shows a ternary sequence. Chronologically it divides into the Indo-Aryan, the Indo-Islamic and the Indo-British cycles. Each cycle is clear cut and at the same time indivisible against what precedes and follows it. Is the dominant civilization of each cycle a separate species of civilization? Is Indian history fundamentally discontinuous? These are questions which elicit different answers from scholars. This is not the place where we can discuss the matter in all its details. We may, however, say that there is a continuity in the administration, social system and culture of India in spite of the apparently discontinuous, not to say, contradictory cycles. Thanks to the patient work of indologists Indian history has reached a stage when it can present its own synthesis. The generalizer on Indian history with a little will power to get rid of any prepossession that may blur his vision can now say with the French historian, Fustel de Coulanges:

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“No applause for me, please, it is history which is speaking through my mouth.”

The Indo-Aryan period is the longest in Indian history, for it covers the field from the Vedic age to 1200 A.D. The magnificent urban civilization of Harappa is still regarded as part of the proto-historic age. Further researches may show clearly its indigenous roots and affiliations with Sumer.

The Bharatas, according to the *Rig Veda*, seem to have been the first to adopt the fire rite which still continues in Brahmanical Hinduism. A fire cult of some form or other existed in old days among the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Italians, the Semites and burnt offerings were given to the gods by almost all the nations of antiquity. But the Indian fire cult has peculiar characteristics which indicate its special development in India, independent of foreign influence. Among no other people was the fire god so definitely anthropomorphized as by the Indians.

The people that inhabited the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley in the age of the *mantras* were not roving hordes of pastoral tribes, but lived in an organized society. They lived in families in villages. The father was the head of the family. They were ruled by kings, many of whom are mentioned by name. Interesting among them are Ikshvāku and Santanu and the doughty warriors, Sudās and Trasadasyu frequently referred to. Kings resided in forts, sat on a throne “of iron columns, decked with gold”. They were surrounded by ministers, and heralds proclaimed their glory. There were messengers to convey their commands. The *mantras* of the *Rig Veda* make us feel sure that the life of the gods was modelled on that of mortal kings. *Satapatha Brahmanam* says, “the course pursued among the gods is in accordance with that pursued among men.” We have it that kings attended assemblies clad in robes of state. Hindu royalty was more or less modelled on descriptions given in the *Rig Veda mantras*.

Caste as we know it now in India did not exist in ancient times. But the three higher castes are frequently mentioned and the Sudra, more than half a dozen times in the *mantras*. In that age priests were generally Brāhmaṇās, but Rājanyās like Viswāmitra and Devāpi also acted as priests. These were exceptions. Brāhmaṇās were generally *purohits*. Though the people were divided into

'castes' there was no restriction with regard to marriage. Professions too were not restricted to castes. During the age of the *mantras*, the influence of the Brāhmaṇās steadily increased and their claims to social predominance insistently urged. The Brāhmaṇās recognized the necessity for deserving the respect of their patrons and shaped their lives accordingly.

In the time of the Buddha, the Pali texts bring to light the four great kingdoms of Kosala, Magadha, Avanti and Vamsa and, what is more interesting, numerous republics.

Between the monarchies and the republics there were constant conflicts. It was no easy job for the king of Magadha to subjugate the republican Lichchavis. They were the leaders of a vast confederation of thirty-six states. In the Buddha's opinion they were invulnerable and invincible because they were keeping up all conventions "making for the strength and success of a republic, such as holding full and frequent assemblies, unity of counsel and policy, maintaining old traditions, institutions, and worship, reverence to elders, honouring women and ascetics" and so forth. The king of Magadha, however, invaded their territory and after a long and arduous struggle defeated and conquered the Lichchavis.

Videha originally started as a kingdom and a strong-hold of Vedic culture; the greatest exponents of Vedic culture there were king Janaka and Rishi Yajnavalkya. It is interesting to find that Videha which had been a monarchy with its many distinguished kings was a republic in the Buddha's time. The Buddhist texts show that the Lichchavi republic had a parliament which often met and that the members had great respect for their ancient laws, customs and institutions.

Alexander on his way back home after a successful campaign in the Punjab met with stubborn resistance from the Brāhmaṇās in the states on Ravi and Beas. The Brāhmaṇās were the real power behind the throne and determined to enter into politics. They denounced the submissive princes as traitors and goaded the republican peoples into revolt against Alexander. They were all, however, put to death by Alexander.

The first largest empire about which there is clear recorded evidence was the Mauryan empire, founded by Chandragupta with the assistance of his master and minister Chānakya, also called

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Kautilya. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, accounts of Megasthenes and the inscriptions of Asoka, grandson of Chandragupta, give a complete picture of the polity of the time. The kingdom of Magadha which Chandragupta took over from the Nandas was extensive and well-organized.

In the days of the Mauryans there were large states under absolute monarchs. In spite of their hostility to non-monarchical states, the republican clans continued to maintain their individuality. In this period there was a transition from a rural to money economy. The volume of international trade increased. Diplomatic mission and growing travel multiplied opportunities of contacts and exchanges among the different nations.

The general theory of Ancient Indian Polity was that the king was only the guardian of the law and not its maker, and that his orders should conform to established principles of *Dharma* and social usage. The Mauryan Government was an elaborate bureaucracy with a full complement of departments and a carefully graded hierarchy of officials, urban and rural, with well defined duties. The *Arthashastra* describes over thirty departments of Government each under a superintendent (*adhyaksha*). The king led a strenuous life. Diligence in the affairs concerning the welfare of the people was his first duty. Ministers were of two grades—*mantris* who formed the cabinet and *amatyas*. The king should consult *mantris* and be guided by the majority opinion on all important matters of state.

The government of the capital was almost on the model of the present corporation in cities but with enlarged functions. The town Council of Pataliputra, the capital of Magadha, functioned through six committees or boards dealing respectively with (1) the industrial arts, (2) the entertainment of foreigners, (3) the registration of births and deaths, (4) trade and commerce including weights and measures, (5) supervision and sale of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on sales.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces under governors or princes acting as viceroys. There were courts to administer justice besides village tribunals where petty disputes were settled by the headman and the elders. The procedure in the courts conformed to rules regarding plea, counter-plea and rejoinder.

There was a regular system of appeals right up to the king's court. There was a large standing army adequate for all the needs of the empire, internal and external. Kautilya lays it down: "The happiness of his subjects is the happiness of the king; the good of the subjects his good. What pleases him is not good for the king but what pleases his subjects is." The Mauryan administration set the model for Hindu kings of various dynasties that came after the Mauryans.

Chandragupta's grandson Asoka showed by precept and example that the *Chakra of Power* and *Chakra of Dharma* could be wielded by a single hand. In his time the Mauryan Empire extended as far as the Northern boundaries of Tamil kingdoms. He sent out missionaries for the propagation of Buddhism to Ceylon and other countries. He is regarded as one of the greatest monarchs of the world, for he renounced war after a resounding victory, and became the most eloquent exponent of the philosophy of non-violence, *Dharma Vijaya* as he puts it. The state seal of the Government of India today depicts the capital of one of his pillars, that is at Saranath. However, his attempt at the propagation of Buddhism throughout India was not a success. The power of Magadha declined after him, when the Bactrian-Greeks, the Parthians and the Sakas poured into India. We have already said that they merged into the Hindu fold.

Then the Kushans established a great kingdom in North India and this reached its peak in the second century A.D. This kingdom extended from the North Western passes right up to Benares in the East. The Kushans held sway in Central Asia also. Thus their empire served as the meeting ground for the then cultural traditions of India, China, Persia and the Greco-Roman world. It was during the Kushan rule that Mahayana Buddhism took shape and Gandhara art produced beautiful sculptured images of the Buddha.

On the Deccan and the East Coast there arose a mighty dynasty named the Sātavahanās, which may be principally regarded as the successor of the empire of Magadha. On account of barbaric encroachment in the North, the centre of Aryāvarta was moved to the banks of the Godavari. From Paithan on the Godavari the Satavahanas waged a holy war of *Dharma*. These were Andhras who were powerful from the second century B.C. to the third



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century A.D. After independence the Andhras looked back on their past with pride and their regional loyalty could not be satisfied until they got the Andhra State on linguistic basis. At this time the three Tamil kingdoms of the Chera, Chola and the Pandya sent out sailing vessels to South East Asia carrying Indian culture to Cambodia, Thailand and Indonesia. Later Orissa and Gujarat also traded with the countries of South East Asia.

A hundred years after the fall of the Kushans, Chandragupta I established in 319 A.D. the Empire of Guptas. His son Samudra Gupta (330-80 A.D.) was one of the most brilliant conquerors in history. In a whirlwind campaign he subdued most of the kings in a large part of the country. He restored *Dharma* in Aryāvarta, and performed an *Asvamedha*. His younger son Chandragupta Vikramaditya (380-415 A.D.), the original Vikramaditya according to one view, annexed Western India and transferred the capital to Ujjain. It was during his reign that the great poet Kalidasa and several other scholars lived. India reached the pinnacle of glory under him. His son and grandson Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta (415-67 A.D.) maintained the empire and upheld *Dharma*. The age of the imperial Guptas is considered as the golden age of India, for there was a glorious revival of Hindu *Dharma*, art and literature. About 447 A.D. came the Huns and the Gupta Empire declined. In 500 A.D. Toramana, the Hun, occupied Malwa. Yasodharma of Malwa succeeded in rallying the national forces of Aryāvarta and breaking the power of the Huns. It is said that the princes of all India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean, from the Himalayas to Mount Mahendra laid their heads at his feet. After him there was a brief period of confusion.

In the first decade of the seventh century came Harsha to the throne of the imperial Kanauj. Soon he became the Emperor of North India. During his period there were two other powerful emperors, one in the Deccan and the other in South India. Pulakesin II, the Chalukya inflicted a heavy defeat on Harsha who invaded the Deccan and came to be called the Lord of the South. The river Narmada remained the boundary between the dominions of Harsha and Pulakesin II. The Pallava ruler of the time, Narasimhavarmam I (A.D. 630-68), was a great and powerful ruler. He defeated Pulakesin II and invested his capital Badami.

The Pallavas succeeded the Satavahanas and ruled for six centuries from about 275 A.D. It was in the time of the Pallavas that the Sanskrit culture became prominent in South India. The rock-cut temples as in Mahabalipuram show the high standard of sculpture and architecture reached by the Pallavas.

The next great ruler of India who revived the memories of Vikramaditya was Mihira Bhoja. He ruled the Empire of Gurjaradesa from 836 A.D. to 888. Bhoja conquered Sind and reconverted the people who under pressure of the Arabs had embraced Islam. He supported Brahmana Shati, the king of Kabul in his fight against Islamic aggression. He held in check the Rashtrakutas in the South. His sway extended from the Punjab to East Bengal.

Between 1020 A.D. and 1044 there was another Bhoja who is regarded as one of the greatest emperors of the land. He was a poet, a patron of learning, a builder of great imagination, a conqueror and great philosopher. He belonged to the Param dynasty.

In South India the period 815 A.D. to 1200 witnessed the rise of the Cholas to an imperial position. We have no place here for their frequent wars with Rashtrakutas and later with the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The founder of the Chola dynasty was Vijayalaya who made Tanjore his capital. Rajaraja and Rajendra were the two greatest rulers of the dynasty. The great Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore was built by Rajaraja. Towards the close of his reign he conquered the Maldives. Rajendra who succeeded him maintained friendly relations with Sri Vijaya, the maritime empire of Sumatra. But his *digvijaya* across the seas led to a breach with Sri Vijaya. Rajendra's capture of the capital of Sri Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) and of Kadaram (Keda on the west coast of Malaya) was a great event. The kingdom was restored to the ruler on his acknowledging Chola suzerainty. The Cholas continued the Pallava tradition of temple architecture. The imperial age of the Cholas (850-1200 A.D.) was the golden age of Tamil culture.

Hindu imperialism differs from other imperialisms in that the defeated monarch was allowed to rule as an independent king if he respected the authority of the imperial power. The conquered people were not enslaved nor were they disturbed from their holdings. The Hindu kings could never be autocratic because they

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were governed by *Dharmasastra*. Those who defied the rules relating to *Danda* and *Niti* formed the exceptions. However, most Western writers characterize the rule of Hindu kings as absolute monarchs. Key industries and enterprises such as mines, forests, spinning and weaving were under state control. Irrigation works were all important. The assumption of Western historians is that the monopoly of water supply provided the basis for the absolutism of the monarch. However, the fact remains that Hindu kings were really less despotic than their contemporaries elsewhere.

During the confusion of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries appeared the Marathas of the Western Ghats and the Rajputs. The latter were a military aristocracy who played the role of the ancient Kshatriyas. Through religious rites they became Kshatriyas. In their courage and chivalry they remain almost unmatched. They established a number of personal kingdoms in North India and had to bear the brunt of Muslim invasions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but their utter lack of unity was largely responsible for the success of the Muslims in India.

The observance of Vedic rituals, common cultural traditions, places of pilgrimage in widely separated points in all directions in the country, the knowledge of the epics (*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) and the *puranas* that permeated the masses and the reliance of kings on their Brahmanā advisers—all these aided the process of cultural unification of the peoples of India.

A.L. Basham's impression of the Hindu period is that "in no other part of the ancient world were the relations of man and man and of a man and the state so fair and humane. In no other civilization were slaves so few in number, and in no other ancient law-book are their rights so well protected as in *Arthasastra*". There is no doubt that the people of Hindu India enjoyed life, and delighted both in the things of the senses and the things of the spirit. The *rishis* of ancient times often were really very human men, full of the joy of life. They had no pessimistic contempt for the good things of the world which later *rishis* and unorthodox religious leaders like Mahavira and Buddha have filled the Indian thought with.

The Hindu social system, in spite of the increasing rigour of caste system, reached a higher level of kindness and gentleness in human relationship than any other contemporary society.

The Hindu achievement in religion, philosophy, art, literature and mathematics, particularly in the age of the Guptas, stands almost unequalled. Asceticism and the philosophical speculations of Sankara, Ramanuja, and Anandtirtha did turn people's minds towards ethical and moral values in life but they did not rob the people of their joy in life because of their inherent capacity to rise above tradition in several respects. We shall in a separate chapter deal with the bases of Hindu society, namely the joint family, the caste system and the village community as the political unit.

## 2. OUTLINE OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

### (i) The Sultanate of Delhi

About the time that Harsha was ruling in India, there was a great upheaval in Arabia, owing to the teaching of Muhammad. He claimed priesthood in his own right about A.D. 611 and began his reforming task with a zeal unparalleled in the history of the world. He adopted the faith of Islam which means peaceful acceptance of God and submitting oneself to His will. The two basic principles of the faith are: there is but one God and Muhammad is his apostle. In Muhammad the series of apostles reached its culmination, and "the Koran revealed through him final and unchangeable revelation of the Divine will abrogating all previous records of revelation".

The people of his native town Mecca opposed him and he escaped to Medina in A.D. 622 which begins the Islamic Era. He ultimately succeeded in winning over the townsmen of Mecca. Muhammad combined in his person priesthood and royalty and before his death in 632 it had become clear that Islam "involved the setting up of an independent community with its own system of government, laws and institutions." Islam recognized neither priesthood nor an organized church. Within ten years of Muhammad's death Syria, Iraq and Egypt embraced Islam and formed part of the Islamic Empire. With astonishing rapidity Islam expanded into Morocco, Spain, and France, to the gates of Constantinople, far across Central Asia, and up to the Indus river. Early in the second decade of the eighth century Sind was conquered by the Arabs. The Hindu resistance prevented the further expansion

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of Islam in India. The Muslim incursions into India began again in the eleventh century A.D. after a lapse of nearly 300 years. It was not the Arab Muslims that came to India, but the Turks and the Afghans. Somehow or other the Arab energy appears to have declined in the tenth century. In Persia, the Arab nomads of the desert and the Turks, the nomads of the steppes, met. Thereafter Islam itself took a different turn, and it is even said that Islam was Iranized or Persianized. The cultural centre of Islam was Persia. The capital of the Islamic Empire became Bagdad not Mecca. The death of Muhammad resulted in a schism in Islam. The Muslims became divided into Sunni and Shia sects. The Sunnis cover about two-third of the Muslim population. For them the Khalif must be elected from among the members of Qurayish tribe, to which Muhammad the Prophet belonged. Shias who do not number more than twelve million consider Ali (the Prophet's son-in-law) and his descendants as the only legitimate Khalifs. Besides these two broad divisions there are other sub-divisions among the Muslims to which reference will be made later.

History shows that the rise of Seljuks to power owing to the encouragement of the Khalif of Bagdad eventually brought about the downfall of Islam. They were rabid Sunnis employed to fight the Shiites and restore orthodox Islam. They were permitted to make Holy War. By the end of the eleventh century they built up an empire, which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Arab Sea and the Punjab. The Persians were not able to influence the Seljuks as they had done the Turks. The fanatic wars of the Seljuks and their establishment of feudal states led to the splitting up of the Islamic world into petty communities without contact with one another. At first Islam was able to overcome the Christian and Mazdean peoples with astonishing facility by its tolerance. But under the Seljuks this tolerance was replaced by the idea of the Holy War which brought about the struggle between Islam and Christendom. From the seventh to tenth century the empire of Bagdad by its contact with the West, India and the Far East had kept up a cosmopolitan civilization. But the Seljuk Empire raised an insuperable barrier between Europe and Asia. It is in this context that the Holy Wars in India and the appearance of the sea-faring West European nations in the Indian Ocean should be understood.

In the countries to which Islam was carried it was easily possible to make mass conversions more by force than by persuasion. Nowhere did Islam meet with such stiff resistance as in India. The terror and persecution practised against the Hindus only aroused a passive resistance, which it was impossible for Islam to break. Hinduism not only remained impenetrable to Islam, but attained the highest intellectual development. Shankara raised the nation's thinking to the more absolute idealism than that of Plato and the other *acharyas* that followed, effectively checked the spread of Islam. But it was Buddhism that suffered most. It became more and more relegated by its asceticism to the monastery. Beginning to decay from the sixth century onwards, it almost disappeared from India with the death blow given to it by the Muslim conquest. But Brahmanical Hinduism which had never lost its influence among common people quickly recovered. No historian can fail to note that, alone of all the ancient religions, Hinduism survived the great waves of Buddhist, Christian and Islamic teachings. Hinduism is a synthetic religion, and it is capable of bringing about a synthesis of cultures. But Islam asserts that it is the only true religion in the world and that the others are false. So does Christianity. This has made it impossible, for Hinduism to absorb either Islam or Christianity, although it did not fail to exercise some influence over them.

The so-called Muslim period of India falls into two main divisions which end and begin respectively with the year 1526. The first of these periods beginning roughly from A.D. 1001 is a long one characterized by continual ferment and confusion. Hindus and Muslims were in a state of uninterrupted and fierce struggle. Kingdoms are founded and overthrown; dynasties rise and fall. However, during the second period a greater stability prevails and for more than three hundred years India is dominated by seventeen monarchs of the same dynasty, the Mughals.

The first period of rule passed through the hands of seven dynasties, namely, the Ghazni, the Ghori, the Slave, the Khilji, the Tughlak, the Sayyid and the Lodi. The Ghazni rule was confined to the Punjab. It was Jaipal, the prince of Lahore in the Punjab, that anticipated danger from the Lord of Ghazni and sought to reduce his rival's power by means of an incursion into

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Afghanistan, which ended in a friendly settlement. But soon the trouble arose. The iconoclast, Muhammad of Ghazni, whose fame rests more upon his religious fanaticism than upon his military achievements marched into India several times to plunder the enormous treasures which had been gathered in temples like Somanath. Famous poets and scholars adorned his court. Among them Alberuni, the historian, writes :

the Hindus believe that there is no country like theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner.

This is the one side of Hindu nationalism as Alberuni saw it. In 1150 Ghazni fell into the hands of the House of Ghori. The Ghoris extended their supremacy over the whole lowland district of Northern India. The thrilling story of Prithviraj's fight against Muhammad Ghori has to be read elsewhere. While disunion and treachery among Hindu rulers in India cannot be ruled out, it must be pointed out that recent studies discredit the story of feud between Prithviraj and Jayachandra and the latter's invitation to Muhammad Ghori.

Under Kutub-ud-din, a slave who became king, the Indian territory of the Muslims became independent of Ghazni and Ghor. His territory extended to Vindhya. It was during the period of the Slave Dynasty that the proud minaret Kutub Minar was raised in Old Delhi. All the slave princes were threatened by danger on three sides—from Hindus who were the more reluctant to submit to a foreign yoke in proportion to the pressure laid upon them by the fanatical Muslims, from the generals and governors who were attracted by the success which had attended the rise of the first slave princes and from the Mongols, whose devastating campaigns were continually and rapidly repeated after the first advance of Genghis Khan.

Mention must be made of Raziya, the only Muslim queen who

reigned upon the throne of Hindustan (1236-39). She was a woman of masculine intellect, capable of shouldering the heavy responsibilities of her position. But, as Firishta says, her only fault was that she was a woman.

Alauddin Khilji was a ruler of some importance. He suppressed rebellions with great severity, warded off Mongol invasions and extended his sway far into the South, after capturing Devagiri. The history of the Deccan during the first century of Muslim rule in Northern India witnesses the struggles between the Rajputs and the Hindu rulers of the South and the rise and fall of kingdoms such as the Maharatta kingdom, the Eastern Chalukya in Andhra and the Western Chalukya in North-Western Deccan. To these must be added the kingdoms of Ganapati and Bellala and further to the south that of Mysore and the earlier kingdoms of Pandya, Chola and Chera.

In about two years Alauddin Khilji with the help of his favourite Malik-Kafur was able to extend his power to Cape Commerin. This brilliant success in no way diminished the number of revolts caused by the Sultan's universal unpopularity.

The Mongols who had remained in India embraced Islam and took service in army, but in 1311 they were all put to death in consequence of a conspiracy. During the Khilji period of about thirty years, the Muslims adopted several Hindu customs and the Hindus began to conform to those of the ruling race. The influence of Hindu favourites of the Sultans was a factor in the history of the period. Under the Khilji, the Muslim power in India reached its first period of great prosperity. Then began the downfall.

Muhammad-bin Tughlak (1325-51) was perhaps the most striking figure of mediaeval Indian history. Really "he was a man of ideas and beyond his age", but as Elphinstone says: "His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes, by means equally irrational and with a total disregard of sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects and its results were more calamitous than those of any other reign." Next in importance is Firuz who acted with vigour and imagination. It is said that in his reign peasants grew rich and were satisfied. He abolished mutilation and torture as punishments for which he deserves unqualified praise. However, his resort to the system of *jagirs* which Alauddin Khilji had discount-



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enanced cannot be defended. After Firuz the Sultanate practically ceased to exist and every province proclaimed its independence. One notable event of the period is the inroad of Timur who ordered a general massacre of the people of Delhi and sacked the city for five days.

The Empire of Muhammad Tughlak had at one time included practically the whole continent of India with the exception of Kashmir, Cutch and a part of Kathiawar and Orissa. On the death of his grand-nephew Muhammad, it extended only from Delhi to Palam, now the suburban airport of Delhi.

The Sayyids (1414-51) and the Lodis (1451-1526) held the Sultanate of Delhi till Baber the Mughal defeated Ibrahim Lodi and captured Delhi. In the days of Muhammad Tughlak a strong Hindu state was organized south of the Krishna River to offer a united front against Muslim advance. This was the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Its capital Vijayanagar was reported to be larger and more magnificent than even Rome. Until 1565 Vijayanagar successfully defended South India against Muslim conquest. During the time of Krishna-deva Raya, it was at the summit of its glory. North of Vijayanagar were the disrupted Muslim states of the Bhamani kingdom. In 1565 they united together against Vijayanagar, inflicted a crushing defeat and destroyed the capital. Vijayanagar (in Bellary district) even in its ruin shows the splendour of the city and the wonderful still of its sculptors.

The universal state or imperium is one of the characteristic features of almost all ancient civilizations. There is indeed a similarity in the concept of an imperialistic state between Islam and Hinduism. The concept of a single Pan Hindu Imperium was first brought into being in India by the martial energy of the Kshatriyas. It was symbolized by the *Asvamedha* and *Rajasuya* sacrifices. The idea was the establishment of *Dharma Rajya*, or kingdom of righteousness. There was no second political concept for the Hindu society of old. In the historical age, we find Hindu kings striving to establish a suzerainty stirred by the concept of a single Pan Hindu Imperium. These kings only partly succeeded in establishing an empire, but rivalries resulted in fierce civil war among the people. The Muslims too sought to establish their sway of the Islamic Universal State. The Khalifate constituted

a theoretical embodiment of such a state. There was no alternative political thought for the Muslims too. But the theory of a Pan Islamic State took shape only after the historic Khalifate had decayed beyond recovery. While most nations have evolved politically from the smaller to the larger entity, that is from the city or tribe to the empire, the Islamic people have reversed the order. They began with a universal state and came down to the competition of the disintegrated constituents. Legally the Sultanate of Delhi was a part of the Eastern Khalifate. The line of Khalifs in Bagdad came to an end in 1258; but even after that the Sultans of Delhi kept up the fiction of allegiance to the Khalif. There were of course a few exceptions. The convention was kept up-till the Mughal conquest, when every dependent ruler became also the Khalif of his territory. Whatever the theory, the Sultan was practically an independent sovereign and the form of his government was despotic. In theory, however, the Sultan was subordinate to Muslim law (*Shar*) which he had to protect and enforce even as the Hindu king was subject to *Dharma*.

It must be said that Indian nationalism in the sense of resisting attacks on religion and culture began with the invasion of Muslims in India. The idea of protecting the land against foreign invasion was also there, but it was confined to the Kshatriya elements in the community, real or pseudo.

One thing that has engaged the attention of all the historians is to find the causes of the failure of the Hindus in stemming the tide of Muslim conquest. It must be observed first that the Muslims had no easy, swift and complete conquest of the country, as it happened elsewhere in the world. The Muslims were no doubt virile, particularly those that came from the North-West. Soldier to soldier, a Rajput, a Punjabi, or a Gujrati horseman was certainly a match for any Muslim soldier. The effects of climatic conditions on the mind and body are often exaggerated. It is often said that the caste system very largely weakened the Hindus in their resistance against the Muslims. This does not appear to be true for those that were in the army were not all Kshatriyas. Nor could it be said that lack of unity among the Hindu rulers was a major cause for the defeat of the Hindus. Although the country was not under a single ruler, yet impelled by patriotism, the rulers combined to

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attack the invaders. The use of elephants in war is often pointed out as a cause of Hindu defeat. The elephants no doubt behaved badly at times, but their value as an instrument of destruction was recognized even by the invaders. In the absence of artillery in those days to threaten them off, it was not possible to discard elephants altogether for purposes of warfare. The real causes of Muslim success appear to be the following: their horses were much better adapted to warfare than those of the Hindus. The Muslims were fired by their iconoclastic and missionary zeal and when they found that India did not yield much fruit in conversions, they grew pitiless. They believed that if they killed an infidel they would go straight to heaven. They knew that the temple fortresses contained hoarded treasure and attack on the temple would bring them rich reward. Moreover the Muslim practice then was to divide all the spoils of war among the soldiers, the commander retaining only one-fifth of the booty. Thus lust for gold and money was an incentive to the Muslims to fight with great severity. If the leader is either defeated or killed in the battle, the belief then was that the army lost the field. This had a psychological effect on the soldiers in the battlefield. After the death of the leader it was very rarely that a battle was carried on to a finish. The Muslims came to settle in India. They were in the midst of a hostile majority. As they had no homeland to go back to, their ferocity increased in proportion to the resistance of the Hindus.

The Muslim conquest of India was only a part of Islamic expansion and it brought India into intimate contact with the Islamic empire outside India.

### (ii) The Mughals

The sixteenth century marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the world. For it was a period when the protestant nations of Western Europe successfully overcame the catholic sea-power and broke the monopoly of the trade of Spain and Portugal. Nearly thirty years before Baber occupied Delhi, Vasco da Gama had landed on the West Coast of India and within a few decades the trade across the India Ocean was wrested from the Arabs and Egyptians by the Portuguese. The sixteenth century shows the introduction of two new elements in the history

of India, the Mughals in the North and the Europeans in the South. The early half of the sixteenth century was a period of constant wars in the Deccan and South India, between Vijayanagar and the Bahmini Sultanates. The Portuguese allied themselves with the Hindu kings but their attempt at forceful conversion of the Hindus made them unpopular. The Protestant Dutch came as rivals and by their policy of non-interference in religion acquired popularity and almost drove the Portuguese out of Ceylon and the East Indies. The English who came after the Dutch, sought the patronage of the Muslim powers and from the start favoured the Muslims. The historian has to take note of the fact that two types of cultures, continental and maritime, started to affect the history of India from the beginning of the sixteenth century. We are now concerned with the continental empire founded by Baber.

By his mother Baber claimed descent from Jenghiz Khan and on the paternal side Timur was his ancestor, in the fifth degree. Having lost his ancestral kingdoms of Farghana and Samarkand, he came to Kabul in 1504. When he failed in his attempt to recapture Samarkand he turned his attention to India. He crossed the Indus, and claimed the Punjab as his by virtue of Timur's conquest a hundred and twenty years before. Ibrahim Lodi met Baber at Panipat and suffered an ignoble defeat. Baber with his artillery was invincible. That was the time when Persia had greater regard for India than for Europe for her economic and intellectual life. Baber brought with him Persian culture. Baber occupied Delhi and Agra and distributed an enormous booty to the victorious army. He secured support of some Afghan Chiefs by a judicious mixture of firmness and cajolery. The Afghan chiefs who refused to submit to him made common cause with the Rajputs headed by Rana Sanga, who commanded a vast army. Rana Sanga was a dauntless warrior who bore the scar of eighty wounds on his body, besides losing an eye, an arm and a leg in the war. Baber's army quailed before the prospect of the conflict with Rana Sanga. In 1527 Baber was fortunate in defeating Rana Sanga. He subdued the Afghan Chiefs of Bengal and Bihar and made himself master of a wide realm extending from the Oxus to the frontier of Bengal and from the Himalaya to Gwalior. In 1530 Baber took ill and died. Baber did not like India or its people. To him the chief excellency

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of Hindustan lay in its vastness and in its hoarded treasures. He frankly stated in his interesting autobiography that he could find no good food or bread and no rice or cold water, no grapes or muskmelons in India. His memoirs contained the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature.

Baber's son Humayun was twenty three years of age at his succession. Bengal was still unsubdued, and many of the Afghan nobles were still at large. His brothers to whom he was overgenerous gave him a lot of worry. Sher Khan, the Sur, inflicted a defeat on Humayun and Humayun had to run for his liberty and his life, being driven not by the Hindus, but by Muslims. It was on his way to Afghanistan that Akbar was born at Amarkote. The Persians were hospitable to him. He sought shelter under the Persian king and lived in exile for nearly fourteen years. Sher Khan who ruled only for five years was one of the ablest men that India had seen. His revenue system and postal system have won the admiration of historians. He died before he could establish his dynasty on the throne at Delhi. Within a few years after his death Humayun came back and took possession of Delhi. His stay in Persia helped him acquire love of literature, art and Persian way of life. Humayun, as Lanepool says, stumbled out of this world as he had stumbled into the kingdom. His son Akbar was only thirteen, and Bairamkhan, his regent, was an able general and statesman. Akbar's rule in India was contemporaneous with that of Elizabeth in England and the Mughal Empire in India was not less glorious than Elizabeth's in England. But Akbar's immense empire which extended over the Indus and Ganges basins and as far the Godavari in Central India was essentially a land state. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkanda were forced to accept his suzerainty. It was a pity that Akbar was not interested in the sea. He accepted the situation of the Portuguese as an accomplished fact. He had no ambitions to take over the Hindu kingdoms of the South. During his time trade with foreign countries flourished. The absolutism of the Mughal Emperor was more complete than that of the Ottoman Sultan. All power and all justice was in the hands of the emperor. He was absolute owner of the whole land and was free to govern and impose tax as he pleased. The basis of the empire was the

army. It had 200 thousand men and the best artillery managed by Europeans. There was a corps of 5,000 war elephants. But of Akbar it must be said, that he did not want to be a despot. He took the advice of his able ministers like Todar Mal, Man Singh and Abul Fazl. He recognized that even with absolute power and an army manned by foreigners it was impossible to rule the country wisely, unless he made the state secular. He granted almost equal rights of citizenship to Muslims and non-Muslims. He deliberately suppressed the inferior status of Hindus by exempting them from the land tax imposed on non-believers. He followed a conciliatory policy towards Rajputs, and succeeded in winning over the Rajput princes except Rana Pratap Singh of Mewar. Being attracted by Brahmanic thinking and educated in Persian mysticism he tried to combine the essentials of Hinduism and Islam in his new religion called the Din-Ilahi. The emperor worshipped the Sun. He kindled in the palace a sacred fire never to be extinguished. But unfortunately the new religion found favour neither with the Hindus nor with the Muslims. Only a few adherents of Akbar followed it.

His court was splendid and the court manners were well regulated. European travellers have given splendid accounts in admiration of his court. Being surrounded by immense luxury Akbar needed evergrowing resources. With the help of Todar Mal, he had the land surveyed and taxes fixed. Land tax was fixed at one-third of the gross yield but soon it increased to a half. It must be said that Akbar did not succeed in relieving the poverty of the people. The administrative service set up for collection of taxes developed into a fiscal aristocracy which later became the instrument of oppression.

Akbar introduced into India the magnificence of Persian architecture and literature inspired by Persia. He was by far the wealthiest ruler in the world. The city of Fatehpur Sikri which Akbar laid out and built as his capital is an example of a combination of Hindu and Muslim conceptions. While the higher officials, except for a few, were Muslims, the power bureaucracy predominantly remained Hindu.

Akbar left to his successors three essential lines of policy; maintenance of the national state, conciliation of the Hindus, and unifica-

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tion of India. Akbar died in 1605 and his son Jahangir ascended the throne. Both he and his successor Shajahan maintained in some measure the first two principles of Akbar. It was only Aurangzeb, Shajahan's son, that deliberately violated all the principles of Akbar with disastrous consequences. All the Mughal rulers did their best to secure the unification of India but they did not succeed. Jahangir was an orthodox Muslim but he often visited Hindu religious men and showed them great respect. Akbar had introduced Persian as state language and in Jahangir's time Persiani- zation of the court was more pronounced, particularly because of his wife Nurjahan, a Persian lady, who had very great influence on her husband.

Shajahan who succeeded Jahangir followed the Deccan policy of Akbar very vigorously, but the Deccan Sultanates united to resist Mughals. Shajahan started a campaign in the South and captured Doulat-a-bad. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda still remained to be conquered. Golkonda accepted Mughal para- mountcy, but Bijapur resisted for some time and then yielded. Shajahan was satisfied with the establishment of Mughal suzerainty in Deccan. But in his external possessions Shajahan was not successful. Shajahan was the greatest builder of the Mughal emperors. He was able to indulge in his zest for building, for he had enormous wealth at his disposal. The Taj Mahal at Agra and the Red Fort at Delhi are monumental examples of the magnifice- nce of Shajahan's numerous buildings. His peacock throne whose beauty has been extolled by many foreign visitors is a wonder of the world. Shajahan was a zealous muslim who destroyed a few Hindu temples, but he did not want to oppress his Hindu subjects. He firmly adhered to Akbar's policy of alliance with Rajputs. The number of Hindu officers under Shajahan greatly increased. He fully maintained the national character of the state, much to the dislike of his intriguing son, Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb deposed his father and succeeded to the throne. He was perhaps the ablest of the Mughal rulers. He was a capable general and good administrator, who attended to details with meticulous care. But there was a change in his policy. He made up his mind to preserve the Islamic character of the state, for to him the policy of a national state was the very negation of Islamic

ideas. He appointed censors of morals to put down un-Islamic practices among the faithful; he put an end to Hindu customs which had found their way in court ceremonies such as the weighing of the emperor in gold. In 1669 he issued general instructions to demolish "all temples and schools of the infidels". Then began an active policy of temple destruction. In 1679, more than a century after Akbar, he reimposed the poll tax on the Hindus. Taxation such as customs duty on non-Muslims only was introduced in conformity with the emperor's conception of an Islamic state. Aurangzeb ordered the replacing of all Hindu officers by Muslims, but finding it difficult to secure Muslims for lower ranks of service he felt compelled to modify the order. It may be said that with the introduction of *Jazia* the national state ceased and Shivaji who was just then rising to power wrote a spirited letter of protest to Aurangzeb which ends thus:

If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus you ought first to levy *Jazia* from Rana Raja Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you the true state of things but cover a blazing fire with straw!

Aurangzeb's policy met with the widest opposition from the Hindus. He had to meet revolt of the Rajputs and the pressure of the Maharattas in the South. Shivaji had by then occupied several fortresses on the border of Bijapur. The Maharattas had a great tradition behind them. The area of the Maharattas had been one of the great centres of Hindu culture, though the great glory that had created the temples of Ellora and Ajanta and the great Chalukya architecture had disappeared. The Maharattas took advantage of the weakness of Bijapur and sought to revive Hindu culture. Moreover, after the battle of Talikotta (1565) Vijayanagar lost its power. Shivaji under the inspiration of Ramdas tried to build up a central authority of the Hindus to meet Muslim challenge. When Aurangzeb was preoccupied in North,



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Shivaji became independent, and attempts to crush his power both by the Sultan of Bijapur and Emperor Aurangzeb failed. Further the Sikhs in the Punjab, followers of Guru Nanak (1469-1530) rose to power under Guru Govind Singh. Govind established the Khalsa and transformed the Sikh community into a military organization. When Aurangzeb died in 1707 he had raised against the Mughal rule the Maharattas in the South, the Sikhs in the North and had alienated completely the Rajputs. The Hindu population was no longer inclined to support the Mughals. Aurangzeb's attempt at the unification of India by the establishment of an Islamic state ended in a thorough failure, and decisively led to the downfall of the Mughal power in India.

The Maharatta armies made inroads into neighbouring territories to extract any tribute or plunder; Maharatta chiefs carved out a realm for themselves out of the weakening of the military power of the Muslims.

In 1724 the chief minister of the Mughal Empire became an independent ruler of the Deccan. He was the first Nizam of Hyderabad. The Mughal Empire broke up into small independent states. In 1739 Nadir Shah of Persia invaded the weakened Mughal Empire, defeated the imperial armies, plundered Delhi and carried off the Crown Jewels, including the famous peacock throne of Shahjahan. Delhi was again subject to an invasion by Ahamed Shah Durani (1756). The Maharattas helped the Mughal Emperor against the Afghans. Maharatta power increased, but suddenly failed with the defeat at the third battle of Panipat (1761), at the hands of Shah Durani. Shah-Alam II, the Mughal Emperor during the last half of eighteenth century (1759-1806) was only a titular ruler; he became a pensioner controlled by one power or the other. He was under the Maharatta chief, Sindia of Gwalior, until in 1803 he came under the British control. The Mughal dynasty finally came to an end with the establishment of British rule in India.

### 3. BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

The Nature of the British conquest of India varies fundamentally from that of the Muslims. The Muslim invaders settled within the frontiers of India and made themselves part of India's life, but

their political leaders steadily cultivated separatist tendencies, and developed a 'two nation' theory which in 1947 culminated in the partition of the country into Pakistan and India. The Muslim conquest of India may be compared to the Norman conquest of England or the Manchu conquest of China, and it may reasonably be said that India did not lose her independence during the Muslim domination. The British conquest of India drew the country into a political and economic system whose centre of gravity lay in England thousands of miles away. From the time of their advent till their withdrawal in 1947, the British remained completely alien to India.

The British conquest of India was neither sudden nor accidental. The East India Company acquired experience and knowledge of the political, social and economic conditions of India for a period of 150 years before they decided to compete for primacy. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the political situation in India was bound up with European politics because of the rivalries among the West European nations. Portugal that came to India first retained her monopolistic position till the end of the sixteenth century. The East India Company was formed in 1600 in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. By then the Dutch had superseded the Portuguese in the Indian waters. For a hundred years from 1650 to 1750 the Dutch were the most powerful, wealthiest and best organized of the European trading nations. When their naval power was broken, their commercial importance too declined. Consequently the East India Company had no other European rival except the the French in India. France and England fought what is called the Seven Years' War, in which India and North America were at stake. The victory in this war made Britain supreme at sea so that all European powers were cut off and Britain was left alone to contest for power in India. The decay of the Mughal power plunged India into anarchy and greatly facilitated the British conquest. Jahangir allowed the establishment of a permanent English factory at Surat (1613). Within a few years the English were able to enter the Persian trade. In 1622 the Portuguese were completely defeated in a sea fight. The English coveted the spice trade of the East Indies and came into conflict with the Dutch at Amboyna but were completely defeated. Never again did the English seriously challenge

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the position of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago till Lord Minto's conquest of Java in 1811. After 'the massacre of Amboyna' the English concentrated their attention on trade with India. The beginnings of the British trade in Bengal were marked by factories at Balasore (1633) and at Hugli (1650-51). The chief articles of trade were saltpetre, silk and sugar. In 1639 the East India Company got the grant of Madras from the Raja of Chandragiri. In return for the payment of a small quit rent the English were permitted to build a factory and exercise administrative authority over the town. Gradually the Company got power to build and maintain fortresses, raise armies and maintain naval units, coin money and to administer justice. Bombay which Charles II had received as a part of his Portuguese bride's dowry was given away to the Company on a small rent of £ 10/- a year. Bombay replaced Surat as headquarters of the Company in May 1687. From the report of Sir Josiah Child, a prominent member of the directorate of the Company, it is clear that the Company hoped for a "sure English dominion in India for all time to come". The Company got Kalighat which later developed into Calcutta. In 1700 Bengal became a separate charge under a president and council at Fort William. With the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as bases the Company started in its career of building up an empire in India.

In the later half of the eighteenth century, the English were the strongest power in the Indian waters and needed only an accession to territory to launch them on an imperial career in India. The French who were at Pondicherry took the first step by interfering in the internal politics of India. In 1746 during the war of Austrian Succession they seized Madras but had to return it to the English according to the terms of treaty which ended the war. The death of the Nizam of Hyderabad gave the English and the French an opportunity to interfere in Indian affairs. The French supported one contendor and the English another. It was at this time that Clive rose from the position of a humble clerk to that of a military leader by capturing and occupying Arcot, the undefended capital of the Carnatic. The English got the better of the French in the Carnatic wars.

The British in Calcutta had trouble with the Nawab of Bengal

who seized Calcutta. Clive and Watson were sent for the relief of the English. The result was the battle of Plassey in 1757. Clive contrived to defeat Siraj-ud-daula by intrigue with Mirjafar, the Chief Commander of the Nawab. The victory at Plassey was the starting point of British conquest in India. At that time Bengal was very wealthy and Clive made an immense fortune. Seven years after Plassey the British precipitated a war against Mir Kasim, an intelligent and capable Nawab of Bengal. In the Battle of Buxar in 1764 the Nawab was defeated. This victory made the British almost supreme in North India. The helpless and powerless Mughal Emperor gave the British the right to collect revenues in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

For nearly fifteen years after the battle of Plassey the Company's servants indulged in a greedy scramble for wealth. They took bribes from Indians and cared more for their private trade than for that of the Company. According to the Regulating Act of 1773 when for the first time the Parliament asserted its right to regulate the Company, Warren Hastings an oriental scholar became the Governor-General of Bengal. He laid the foundation of the British rule in India. His methods of acquiring resources for his wars were not above board. Lord Cornwallis who succeeded him as the Governor-General from 1786-93 did his best to put an end to the corruption among the Company's officials. He established a distinction between the administrative and commercial functions of the Company. He organized a separate civil service to administer the territory. This was called a covenanted service, in which the civil servants had to promise not to engage in trade, but Indians were scrupulously excluded from higher posts of Government.

In 1765 the Nawab of Oudh came under the protection of the British. The real rivals for primacy in India were the Maharattas and the Sultan of Mysore. Hyder Ali was a soldier of fortune, who built up a Muslim kingdom in Mysore. He was a great diplomat and realized that it was impossible for him to meet the British at sea. His son Tippu was a young, energetic and ambitious ruler. He established contact with the French and with the Shah of Kabul. At that time Napoleon was rising into prominence. The Maharattas were really a power to be reckoned with, but it was fortunate for the British that the Maharatta states and dynasties

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were plunged by a series of deaths into a state of faction and rivalries which effectively prevented a concentrated action against the threatening British power.

Those were the days when the directors of the East India Company at home did not favour the policy of British expansion as it involved heavy expenditure in wars inevitably reducing trade dividends. By the Act of 1784 the Governor General was not "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India or measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation". The East India Company was forbidden to declare war or enter into treaties without specific permission of the Board of Control. Lord Wellesley, Governor General from 1798 to 1805, pursued a policy of aggression and expansion. He had an insatiable thirst for honour and an inexcusable contempt for Indians. The presence of Napoleon in Egypt afforded Wellesley a pretext to follow his policy of aggression. The Nizam of Hyderabad was hedged in between two powerful rivals, the Maharattas in the North and Tippu Sultan in the South. While the Nizam accepted nominally the suzerainty of the emperor at Delhi, Tippu claimed to be independent of the Mughal power. Fear of his enemies drove the Nizam to accept the protection of the British. Wellesley thrust on him the system of subsidiary alliance by which the Nizam agreed to have a British army at his expense in his territory. He agreed also not to make war or peace with any other power and to have a British resident stationed in his capital whose advice he had to take. Thus the Nizam became a vassal of the British. Wellesley was not the man to wait for a war to be sanctioned by the Board of Control. When Tippu refused to agree to the subsidiary alliance, Wellesley launched an attack on Mysore. In 1799 Tippu was killed in battle at Seringapatam. The coastal areas of Mysore were annexed by the British. The Nizam was given a portion of the territory. The rest of Mysore was handed over to a five year old Hindu prince. With the subjugation of Tippu only the Maharattas remained. The Peshwa who was the real ruler of the Maharattas was in trouble. Wellesley persuaded him to accept the subsidiary alliance. In 1802 the Peshwa accepted the Company's protection. The Maharatta chiefs made war on the British. The British campaigns during 1803-04 against Sindia were successful. The Mughal

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Emperor who had been under Sindia now placed himself in British hands. He was allowed to retain his empty title and his sovereignty did not extend beyond Red Fort in Delhi. So long as he was successful Wellesley's disregard of directions from England was tolerated. But when there was a clear defeat Wellesley was recalled. When Wellesley left India he had made conquest vaster than those of Napoleon, closed India to the French, destroyed the Muslim power of Mysore, dethroned the dynasties of Surat, Carnatic and Tanjore, dismembered the states of Oudh, the Nizam, the Peshwa, Bhonsle, Sindia and Holkar, doubled the extent of the Company's territory, linked up Madras with Bengal, took the Mughal emperor under the Company's protection and put into practice the theory of English suzerainty over Indian princes.

After Wellesley there was a lull in the expansionist policy of the British for eight years. Lord Hastings (1813-18) effectively put down the Maharatta power, spread British control across Central India so that the three ports of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta became linked together in British territory. Thus British power in India extended over the whole of India except in Punjab, Sind and Himalayan states. Lord Hastings succeeded in getting hill stations from the Nepalese territory like Simla and Nainital. The next Governor General of importance was Lord William Bentinck (1828-35). It was during his period that the momentous decision of making English the official language was taken. A resolution of the Governor General in Council 7 March 1835 said : "the great object of the British government ought to be promotion of European literature and science among the people of India and that the fund appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone." William Bentinck's administration was peaceful except for the annexation of Coorg. Lord Auckland carried out instructions he received from home in respect of a war with Afghanistan which ended in disaster. The Russian bogey acted on the nerves of the British authorities in India and to keep Afghanistan as a buffer state was the policy of the British. Ellenborough (1842-44) who succeeded Auckland was a man of vigour. He too suffered reverses in his Afghan war. But the failure in Afghanistan was compensated by the conquest of Sind, an act which Napier describes "as a humane piece of rascality". Ellenborough succeeded

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in bringing Gwalior under British rule, but the Board of Directors alarmed at the arrogant tone of his correspondence recalled him. Hardinge (1844-48) succeeded in defeating the Sikhs. The English got Kashmir which they put into the hands of a subservient Hindu ruler.

Next to Wellesley it was Lord Dalhousie who followed the policy of expansion and consolidation of the British Empire in India successfully. He sincerely believed that it was necessary to annex Indian territories and bring them under British power for the establishment of peace in India and had no compunction in annexing Punjab. By his energetic action he brought Burma under the British rule. With regard to the succession of Hindu states in India, he used his powers of paramount authority in accepting or rejecting adoption. He followed the instructions of the Board of Directors that adoption "could never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation," on the ground that if a prince died without heir his kingdom lapsed to the paramount state. Dalhousie annexed Satara, Sambalpur and Jhansi. The honour of Royalty was denied to the successors to the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. The greatest annexation was that of the Maharatta kingdom of Nagpur. When he annexed Nagpur he said: "I conscientiously declare that unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed under British rule, no other advantages which could arise out of the measure would move me to propose it." Berar of the Nizam territory was annexed for arrears of rent. On the eve of his departure Dalhousie annexed Oudh on the score of misgovernment. Impartial British historians have condemned it as an act of injustice. It was during Dalhousie's time that the system of communication by railway was introduced. His idea was to attract private enterprise by European capitalists who would be safeguarded by government guarantee. Along with railways went the construction of the telegraph and the introduction of the cheap half anna postal system. The Department of Public Works was reconstructed in his time. That was a period when England was growing into the workshop of the world as a result of the industrial revolution. Sir Willson Hunter summing up the results of Dalhousie's administration in India says:

During his eight years of rule the export of raw cotton more than doubled itself, from one and a half million pounds to close on three millions and one-third. The export of grain multiplied by more than three-fold from £ 890,000 in 1848 to £2,900,000 in 1856. Not only was the export of the old staples enormously increased, but new articles of commerce poured into the markets, under the influence of improved internal communications and open ports. The total exports of merchandise rose from 13½ millions sterling in 1848 to over 23 millions in 1856. The vast increase of productive industry represented by these figures, enabled the Indian population to purchase the manufactures of England on an unprecedented scale. The imports of cotton goods and twist into India rose from three millions sterling in 1848 to 6½ millions in 1856. The total imports of merchandise and treasure increased during the eight years from 10½ to 25¼ millions.

Hunter's intention is to show the commercial prosperity of India, but it is clear that India which had been exporting manufactured goods had by 1856 turned into a country importing manufactured goods and exporting only raw products. By 1857 the East India Company was in complete control of India, ruling about three-fifth of the country directly and remaining two-fifth indirectly through subservient Indian princes. The cumulative effect of Dalhousie's administration was the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which the nationalists call the First War of Indian Independence. The discrimination of the treatment between sepoys and British soldiers, insistence on overseas service which offended the religious feelings of high caste men in the army, the uneasy restlessness among the civil population, widespread unemployment caused by numerous escheats and annexations, the protection of the civil rights of converts from Hinduism to Christianity by means of legislation and finally introduction of greased cartridges made the sepoys of Northern India rise in revolt against the British. The trouble began at Meerut, thirty miles north of Delhi. The Sepoys refused to use the greased cartridges and they were court-martialled. This aggravated the situation. The Sepoy revolt spread to Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow and other places. The powerless Mughal Emperor was made the



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leader. Hindus and Muslims joined the fight. This was confined only to North India. The Punjab and South India remained untouched by the revolt. The sepoys behaved savagely towards the British men and women. The revolt was put down with great difficulty after a year of hard fighting. Royal British troops were rushed from England to put down the revolt. Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi distinguished themselves for their heroism in the fight against the British. The British suppression of the revolt was as violent and shameful as the Indian sepoys' inauguration of it. The Indian princes were careful not to give room for any suspicion that they supported the revolt of the sepoys. The Mutiny left bitter memories and created a social estrangement between the English and the Indians. This had a reaction on political relations as well. The British administrators distrusted the Indians and were unwilling to promote them to positions of responsibility. They were definitely disinclined to interfere in questions of religion or caste. The Indians on their side developed a more critical attitude towards the achievements of the West and showed a marked tendency to glorify India's past. This Mutiny of 1857 gave the British Government an excuse for formally taking over the Government of India directly under Parliamentary authority. The Queen of England became the Empress of India in 1858.

Queen Victoria in her proclamation in 1858 promised religious tolerance declaring that race or creed would be no bar to office under the crown, renounced the doctrine of lapse, and assured the Indian princes that the suzerain power would not interfere in their internal government except to correct serious abuses. From 1858 to 1947 India was ruled by twenty-one Viceroys, who were also Governor Generals.

An independent India Council of prominent officials was created in 1858. It was invested with full powers over Indian administration. In actual practice however, the Secretary of State became the chief person both to the India Council and the Parliament. The Governor General was assisted by an Executive Council in administration and matters of policy. An India Councils Act of 1892 introduced some changes in the composition of the Council. The members of the Viceroy's Council consisted of a few elected

Indian members and they were allowed to ask questions and discuss the budget. The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 represented the educated class and demanded for them a share in the administration of the country. In 1909 came the Minto-Morley Reforms. The number of additional members of the Viceroy's Council was increased to sixty at the centre and from twenty to fifty in the Provincial Councils. In the provinces non-official members were in a majority but at the centre majority of official members were kept in tact. Communal representation was brought into effect in election to the legislature. These reforms, however, did not satisfy the people. Then came the great war of 1914-18, which brought about a radical change in the British policy. The agitation for political rights among the Indians increased. In August 1917 the goal of British policy in India was announced to be "the progressive realization of responsible government". The Government of India Act of 1919 introduced the 'diarchy' as a transitional stage. Subjects such as law and order and revenue were placed under executive members of the Governor in Council. Education and local self-government and such others were transferred to ministers. The diarchy did not work satisfactorily, but this continued until the Government of India Act of 1935. The Congress kept up its agitation for self-government. We will revert to this subject when we deal with the struggle for independence.

#### 4. ESTIMATE OF THE THREE PHASES

The coming of the Aryans about the middle of the second millennium B.C. may be regarded as the beginning of the first phase of Indian history, conventionally called Hindu Period, which is also called Indo-Aryan. It would, however, be truer to say that the beginning of this period cannot accurately be dated. The Harappa civilization lies below the horizon of historical knowledge and its relationship to the Aryan civilization is still a matter of conjecture. The end of the Hindu period may be dated A.D. 1192, when Muhammad of Ghor defeated Prithviraj. The second, the Indo-Islamic period may be taken as ending with the battle of Plassey in 1757. Thus the so-called Muslim period lasted for 565 years. The British

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period began in the middle of eighteenth century. Although the British rule was formally terminated on 15 August 1947, India is still in a period of transition. The dominant culture of each of these three periods varies considerably, but there is an underlying unity in the history of India. In the first period India used Sanskrit along with Prakrits, in the second Persian together with Indian vernaculars such as Urdu and Hindi and in the third English with modern Indian languages. The linguistic difference is no evidence of discontinuity in the cultural trend of India.

While there has been an increase in the field of politics from period to period, there has been a decrease in quality in the field of culture. By far the most original and massive was the Indo-Aryan period which with its *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Ithihasas*, *Puranas* and *Dharmasastras* built up a society, the fundamental principles of which survive to this day. The *Arthasastra* in Sanskrit shows the development of political science which was a special favourite among scholars, from some centuries before the Christian era. The Mauryan Empire, the Gupta Empire and the Vardhana Empire shows a progress in Indian politics, art and literature.

The Islamic period, though magnificent in point of architecture and remarkable in its unified political structure, was certainly on a lower plane culturally than that of the first. The culture of the British period in spite of all that is said about scientific inventions and technological devices must be regarded as the least solid of the three. Gerrat in his *Essay on Indo-British civilization* says:

It might have been expected that Indian philosophy, literature, and art would have received at last a fuller appreciation in Europe; and that some new form of civilization might have developed from the close contact between England and India. Unfortunately it must be confessed that the last 150 years have proved the most disappointing, and in some ways the most sterile in Indian history. The English, working or domiciled in India, have not provided a good channel for spreading abroad the more valuable elements of Indian culture. Even more surprising is the poverty of harvest from this hybrid civilization, from Indians working under English influence, or from English inspired by India and the Indian peoples.

The failure is attributed to conditions of European colonization in which Britishers regarded India as a temporary place of living for exercising power and making money. The British neglect of the Indian craftsmanship is ascribed partly to the policy of the British Government and "to the ignorance of hubristic outlook of the expatriated Englishman". The sterility of Indian science and art is also attributed to the same causes. The greatest contribution of Britain to India is the English language which serves as the medium of communication between India and the materially advanced West. Representative government of the parliamentary type and the judicial procedure in courts of law are other British contributions of inestimable value.

In the first phase, the extent to which the Aryan and pre-Aryan cultures acted on each other does not admit of a very clear definition. The priests and warriors were separated from the bulk of the people in social matters. In the age of the *mantras* the Brahmin priesthood worked out an elaborate sacrificial ritual which was accepted by the society. These rituals were based on the *Vedas*. Notable among the reactions to the sacrifices and rituals is rise and spread of Buddhism. The South was never conquered by the Aryan military forces, but the religious beliefs and sacrificial rituals evolved in the Ganges valley slowly penetrated the whole of the Dravidian society. The South assimilated the modes of thought and political institutions of the Aryans, recognized Sanskrit as a sacred language and accepted the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. Buddhism and Jainism were also popular in the South, but the Vedic religion remained unaffected by them. In consequence a homogeneous Hindu culture came to be established throughout India. This took a final shape and reached its peak between the fifth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. The bases of the social system such as the joint family, caste system and self-sufficiency of the village will be dealt with separately later.

In the Indo-Islamic period, bands of Turkish, Arab and Afghan adventurers made intermittent raids in search of money and slaves throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In 1206 the Delhi Sultanate was founded as an independent Muslim state. There was no change in the social and economic foundations of Indian life, although there were conversions chiefly because of the desire

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of the poor people to escape from the Poll tax, levied on all non-Muslims. In this period Arabic and Persian languages were brought into India. The Muslim law was introduced and a new ruling class was formed. The Afghan rule in India was maintained with the help of military force. The new element in the Indian population, namely the Hindu converts to Islam, resisted absorption. Hinduism could not reabsorb them, but continued to be tolerant. The Muslims and the Hindus did not live in a state of hostility. No doubt there was savage persecution of the Hindus in the beginning, but necessity of administration made the Muslim rulers take into service Hindus in the lower ranks. The Muslims too learned the virtue of tolerance. Except under a fanatic ruler, the Hindus lived unmolested. After a generation or two the Muslims ceased to be foreign and developed social intercourse with the Hindus. The Muslim rulers were not less ferocious to their co-religionists who stood in their way than they were to the Hindus and Muslims, who learned to live in amity, particularly in rural areas.

The most brilliant period in the history of the Muslim rule was that of the Mughals who patronized art, music, painting, poetry and architecture. There was a cultural renaissance in the period which was rudely shaken by the bigotry of Aurangzeb. The Muslim architecture owed not a little to the earlier Hindu design. Hindu craftsmen contributed to the magnificence of Muslim architecture.

The Muslim period shows many writers, saints, and scholars and administrators. Ramanuja in the later half of the eleventh century wrote commentaries on the ancient texts and led a crusade for *Bhakti marga*. He threw open the temple of Melkote for a day in the year to the untouchables. Sage Vidyaranya made Harihara and Bukka renounce Islam and return to the Hindu fold. He helped them found the city of Vijayanagar. The celebrated Vedic commentator Sayana (died 1387) was the minister of Harihara II. Basava of the twelfth century, a minister of the Jain king at Kalyan, was a great social reformer, who spread the Lingayat movement. He worked for the emancipation of women and the enrichment of Kannada. Among the great names of mediaeval Indian poets that of Kabir (1398-1448) is prominent. It cannot be said with certainty whether he was a born Hindu or a Muslim. He was greatly influenced by Ramananda. Kabir was against image worship,

pilgrimage and fasts. His teachings had a tremendous influence on Hindus and Muslims. Nanak was another mystic saint of this period. He was born in 1469 in the Punjab. He travelled up and down the country—Punjab, Delhi and Utter Pradesh. It is said that he also visited Mecca and Bagdad. He founded the Sikh religion and attempted to unite the Hindus and Muslims. Chaitanya in Bengal (1485-1533) had a strong hold over the minds of the people. He was a devotee of Krishna and his cult of *Bhakti* spread to Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Tulsidas is an outstanding example of a man of letters. His memorable *Rama Charithmanas* or *Tulsi Ramayana* continues to be admired by the Indians. As it is in a form of Hindi, the language of the masses, it is greatly appreciated. But unlike Kabir and Nanak, Tulsidas preaches the cult of formal religion. Tukaram (1608-49) in Maharashtra was another religious reformer. Earlier, Nayanmars and Alvars in the South spread the *Bhakti* cult. It is said that the *Bhakti* movement served as a way of escape from the depressed feelings caused by the Islamic oppression. But *Bhakti* movement is only an extension of the old *Bhagavata* movement. Social and religious reformers did of course attempt to narrow down the gulf between Islam and Hinduism and promote brotherliness among the peoples through the *Bhakti* cult.

The third phase of Indian history is dominated by the political and economic conditions created by the industrial revolution. India was primarily a field for economic exploitation and for the provision of sinecure posts for the nobility of Britain. Politically India became a single unit in this period. The British were fortunate in getting Indian money and Indian men not only to fight their wars, but also to maintain their dominion in India. The presence of a large number of mercenary soldiers who were willing to take up service under anybody who could pay them, shows the poverty of the people as well as their lack of a spirit of nationalism. At the time when the British came to India, the country was comparatively rich, but gradually its economic position weakened because of the heavy military expenditure, the top heavy administration and the mercantile policy of the British.

Both in the Indo-Islamic and the British periods there arose a new middle class. This consisted of educated men who made their

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living by taking up service under the government. It also consisted of merchants and traders who made themselves rich. The educated middle class was in a way cut off from the masses of the people. It was thoroughly subordinate to the ruling class, Muslim or British. This was certainly an influential section of the community although subservient to the ruling class. In the Muslim period there were jagirdars who held large tracts of land for the military service they had to render to the rulers. During the British rule a new class of zamindars and jagirdars came up and they were free to tax the tenants so long as they paid the stipulated amount to the government. The mass of the people did not very much concern themselves with the affairs of the government so long as they were free to follow their traditional occupations. Most of the Muslims were of the same blood as that of the Hindus, although they differed in religious pursuits. There was never therefore a racial conflict in India during the Muslim period. Racial differences became prominent only during the British period. At first the Company's servants did try to adjust themselves to the new situation in India and to live the same kind of life that they found among the Indians with whom they came in contact. But when the covenanted civil service and later the Indian civil service came, the officials looked down upon the Indians and behaved as if they were far superior to the Indian subject. As they remained in isolation, there was no social intercourse between them and the Indians. Even in the clubs they established, Indians were prevented from entering. Throughout the British period the consciousness of a race barrier was ingrained and there was a sense of race inequality which roused among Indians resentment against the idea of subordination to the Europeans. One notable feature of the period was the growth of prose literature in the Indian languages and this is considered as a mark of modern civilization.

In the Muslim as well as the British period there was a steady destruction of exclusive privilege of certain sections of the Hindu community. The very poor and down-trodden became Muslims and grew to be one-fifth of the population. Christianity too drew a small number of the socially oppressed mostly attracted by the opportunities for economic improvement. So long as the masses of Muslims remained unsophisticated there was no fear of any

communal outbreak. But in the nineteenth century, there was a resuscitation of the Hindu past which brought about a tremendous revival of Hindu traditions. As a reaction to this there was a continuous attempt on the part of the Ulema and Muslim politicians to complete the Islamization of the Muslims qualitatively and increase their number by proselytization. The British policy was to exploit the differences between Hindus and Muslims so as to strengthen and perpetuate their hold on India. By favouring Muslims in recruitment to the military and civil services and bringing about separate communal electorates, the British Government saw to it that the Hindus and Muslims did not amalgamate. The group consciousness of the two communities remembers more the differences in religion than cultural similarities. The Hindu-Muslim problem assumed greater and greater dimension and the country had to be partitioned at the time of the withdrawal of Britain from India. The European affiliation of India has continued unabated after independence in 1947. India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, whose leadership is in the hands of Britain.



*Traditionalism and  
Modernism*

## JOINT FAMILY

IN this chapter we shall deal with the three pillars of the Indian social structure, namely: the joint family, the caste and the self-sufficient village community, and the impact of modern ideas on them. In however truncated a form they may exist today they reveal the power which helped them to survive the ravages of time. They were responsible for a secure and stable order of society. The history of India can be understood only when there is a clear conception of these bases of Indian social structure and how they have been modified through the ages.

Let us take up the joint family first. In all societies the family is the unit. Some families are patriarchal and some matriarchal. Both the types are found in India. The latter is found largely on the West Coast of South India, but the former is the commoner. In olden days it was usual for all the members of a family, sometimes numbering more than fifty, to live together. The head of

the family was usually the father and after him the eldest male member of the family took his place. The property was held in trust by the head of the family, and the other members had a share in the produce of the land. The earnings of the members were also pooled by the head of the family, and each member was given a share according to his needs. The head of the family was the law giver and the other members usually obeyed his will. Sometimes the family would include some members unable to earn on account of their physical or mental disabilities. Helpless widows formed part of the family. It was a point of pride with every member of the joint family to subordinate himself or herself to the larger interests of the family group. Each member of the group sought to maintain the tradition and honour of the family. Women were respected and had an important role to play in family affairs.

This joint family system remained unimpaired till the end of the nineteenth century, when ideas of individualism began to affect Indian society in general. Paradoxical as it may seem, religious thought and spiritual teaching in India have always emphasized the individual while the social tendency has been to subordinate the individual to the claims of group and society. In this joint family system some useless mouths had to be fed. The critic says that it promoted indolence among the less able members and led to a lack of incentive in the energetic members of the family to greater effort and there is some truth in this. The social and economic value of the joint family cannot, however, be underestimated. That there are practically no Hindu orphanages shows the cooperativeness and cohesiveness of the joint family system. Helpless members even remotely connected to the family were supported.

History shows that civilization advances parallel with the realization of the value of the individual progress. Individualism and progress seem to be inseparable concomitants. The family is a part of the framework of the society. The individual lives as a member of the family in this framework. For the development of the personality of the individual he has to collaborate with his peers.

The criticism levelled against the joint family is that it deprives

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the individual of his liberty. The individual has liberty only to a limited extent. Western society stresses more the rights of the individual, while the Indian society stresses more his duties. It is observed that in India the individual's obligation to the society is generally less realized than his obligation to the family or group to which he belongs. There must be a balance between the rights of the individual and his obligations to society or group. When the balance breaks down to the benefit of the individual, individualism becomes egocentric and destructive. If in a country the mass of the people are crushed by power of money it means that individual liberty has set up an economic dogma which rejects social morality. For example economic liberalism of the later half of the nineteenth century promoted democracy but in the twentieth century it became antithetical to democracy due to concentration of economic power in the hands of a few.

The impact of individualism was felt in India only towards the close of the nineteenth century. The break-up of the joint family is due to several causes. For education young men and women have to separate themselves from family to live in university centres. Occupation often forces the members of the family to live separately in distant places. Legislative reform has led to the division of property among the members of the family. Sometimes lack of adjustment compels couples to break away from the joint family. At present only less than twenty per cent of the families continue to remain as joint families in India. The ancestors of those who are now Muslims lived in joint families before Islam was founded. Muslim families continue to be joint patriarchal families. The head of the family or his substitute is always entitled to respect from the other members of the family.

In Hindu families marriages are generally settled by the eldest member in the family, though separated by distance. The modern practice is to allow the prospective couple to see each other and give their consent for the marriage. However, marriages where the couple see each other only at the time of the bridal ceremony are still not uncommon. Though for social and economic reasons joint families have been disrupted, still the emotional ties continue to operate. Important decisions such as marriages or disposal of property are taken by the head of the family. The Land Ceiling

Act<sup>1</sup> has resulted in the division of property among the members of the joint family. The joint family in spite of its defects has some good in it. Young children living in a joint family develop a group consciousness and show greater cooperativeness and spirit of self-sacrifice. The cohesiveness of the joint family which led to the solidarity of the society is now a vanishing landmark in India.

## 2. THE CASTE

After the large joint family the caste was an institution that provided social security. Although many books have been written about the caste system in India, its exact origin and development are still not conclusive. That it is the development of thousands of years is mostly admitted. It should be noted that caste is not the same as *Varna*. Mahatma Gandhi supported the *Varnasrama Dharma* but condemned the rigidity and restrictions of the prevailing caste system.

Although in Vedic times the caste system is not found, the ground work for its later development is present in *Rig Veda*. The distinction between holy power *Brahma*, kingly power *Kshatra*, and the commonality *Vis* is a matter of common knowledge. In the Purusha Suktha in the tenth book of the Rig Veda the name Sudra appears. This is perhaps the name of some prominent Dasa tribal leader.

There are two conflicting views about caste distinctions. One is that they are of divine origin and have religious sanction. The other is that the caste somehow developed as a social institution without any reference to the four *Varnas*. The caste system in its developed form is certainly peculiar to India. Among the causes for its development may be mentioned fear of miscegenation and on impure contacts, hierarchical feeling and growth of professional specialization with the increasing complexity of social life. Gradually restrictions regarding worship, marriage and eating of food bound the clans into distinct entities. Totemic Prê-Aryan groups were admitted into the social structure, thus increasing the

<sup>1</sup> The principle that there should be a ceiling on land holdings was accepted in the First Plan (1950-51, 1955-56). The provisions of the Act have been enforced in all states.

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complexity of Indian castes. Many factors ethnic, geographical, professional, economic, sectarian or even merely accidental contributed to its growth through the centuries. In the age of the Guptas (300-550 A.D.) the caste system was still fluid in character and instances of intercaste marriages are known among royal families and might have been practised, though only exceptionally, among the common folk. Inter-marriages doubtless played a good part in securing the absorption of foreign tribes like the Hunas in Hindu society. As regards food, the *smritis* of the period forbid only eating with Sudras, though even here Yajnavalkya makes an exception in favour of one's farmer, barber, milkman and family friend. Professions again were not strictly determined by caste. Brāhmanās took to arms, trade, and architecture, and there were several Brahmin dynasties of rulers and commanders of armies, not to speak of officials in the various grades of the civil administration of the land. The army must have been open to the Vaisyas and Sudras as well. There were Kshatriyas who practised trade, and chief officers of a guild of oilmen are expressly described as Kshatriyas in a fifth century record. The old rule that the Sudras should be content to serve the twice-born might have lingered in theory, but no longer represented practice. They became traders, artisans and agriculturists, and the law-books of the time allow it. The Brāhmanās and Kshatriyas were the natural aristocracy of the land and doubtless enjoyed social preeminence. In the middle ages during the Muslim rule the caste system assumed a rigidity which in some form or other still persists.

The Western social ideal is the good of the individual. But the Hindu ideal is the good of the body politic. According to R.P. Masani the caste system embodies four principles: (1) that a man's place in society is assigned to him by Providence; (2) that there are fundamental differences between man and man as regards, nature, disposition, character, capacity, and educability; (3) that individual members of society have, therefore, distinct duties and responsibilities and distinct rights and status suited to their respective places in the social organization; (4) that cooperation of the various units is essential for the usefulness, happiness, and progress of society. In spite of all that has been said against the caste system it must be admitted that if Hindu culture has persisted

through ages despite political convulsions and social revolutions and if it has successfully combated destructive influence brought to bear on it by other cultures and civilizations it is due to the institution of caste. Again it was this that taught "both high and low the art of governing and being governed by the rigid rule of caste". But unfortunately the caste became a closed system making society stationary, traditional and unprogressive. It degraded a mass of human beings giving them no opportunity for educational, cultural and economic advance. However, changes have taken place in the caste system and wisdom lies in taking advantage of the changing conditions and directing the changes so that as Jawaharlal Nehru says, "we can take full advantage of the character and genuineness of the Indian people as a whole which have been so evident in the cohesiveness and stability of the social organization they built up". Social relationship in modern times has been gradually modified by the abolition of feudal tenures, law of succession, legislation giving women rights to property and legal recognition of intercaste marriages. Birth is no longer the basis of social standing. New social and economic forces are attacking the caste system at the base and particularly after independence some of the abuses of the caste system such as untouchability have been removed. Modern type of education and conditions of travel have set at nought ideas of caste seclusion.

Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Discovery of India* quotes Sir George Birdwood as having said: "So long as the Hindus hold to the caste system India will be India, but the day they break it, there will be no more India. That glorious peninsula will be degraded to the position of a bitter East End of the Anglo-Saxon Empire." Commenting on this Jawaharlal Nehru says:

..the break-up of a huge and long standing social organization may well lead to a complete disruption of social life, resulting in absence of cohesion, mass suffering and the development on a vast scale of abnormalities in individual behaviour unless some other social structure, more suited to the times and to the genius of the people, takes its place.

We are now in a transitional period, and perhaps destruction is inevitable, but the question is whether it will be possible to build up

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something better which will help us reach the ideal of socialistic democracy. Mere destruction without a constructive scheme will lead to disaster. Laws relating to removal of social disabilities, recruitment to services without reference to caste, social education and the Five Year Plans for economic uplift of the nation are all calculated to build up a modern Indian society free from such burden of the past as the caste. But caution is needed to see that the burden of the new does not overwhelm ordered progress. Intelligent public opinion should lead to the gradual moulding of the society. When people talk about caste they easily forget that the medieval trade guilds of Europe were run on similar lines. Till about the time of the industrial revolution Western society was a feudal hierarchy. Even today, social distinction of some kind or other does exist in Western society. Only its objectionable features are far less offensive than those of the Indian caste system. It is indeed very difficult to say whether the prevailing caste system will ever completely disappear. The attempt of Basava, Ramanand, Kabir, and Nanak in the middle ages to abolish caste met with failure. Social reformers of the nineteenth century Rammohan Roy, Kesab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda all tried to put an end to the caste system but were not successful. Even the Sikhs have not been able to overcome caste feelings. Muslims also have shown a tendency to observe caste restrictions. The Syrian Christians of Malabar early divided into sections which took on a caste character. High caste converts of Roman Catholicism have shown a marked tendency to hold themselves aloof from those of the lower orders. The growing national sentiment is steadily attacking caste feelings. The criticism is made that in the matter of elections and appointments casteism plays a part in India. We will have to refer to it later. To build up a substitute for the Hindu social order, which has so long preserved the identity of Indian society is no easy matter, but it is hoped that independent India through wise leadership will be able to establish a stable order of society absorbing modern ideas without a violent revolution.

### 3. THE INDIAN VILLAGE

India is a land of villages. There are a little over 657,000 villages, where eighty per cent of the population live. The great majority

of these villages contain only about 500 people each. In the modern age the town began to replace the village as the characteristic unit. Ideas developed in the town reach villagers through newspapers and political propaganda and so the rural outlook is rapidly changing. Those who have come in contact with urban life are hardly able to resist the temptation to migrate to the nearest town. Till the beginning of the twentieth century it was life in the village that was really attractive to the rich as well as the cultured Indians.

The encomiums bestowed on ancient village-republics of India by the observant British Indian administrators of the early nineteenth century, though we may not accept them as literally true, are clear proof that, until then, the village continued to be the real centre of social life and the principal nursery of social virtues. And from the hundreds of Cola inscriptions that have come down to us, we see that under the Colas the villages of Southern India were full of vigour and strength.<sup>2</sup>

In North India too villages flourished as in South India, but not much is known of their administration. Villages show clearly how they have survived almost unaffected by the innumerable dynastic wars and the shifting of political power at the top. The cellular structure of Indian society that has sustained national existence through ages can be seen even in the present day village set-up.

The government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village was the central feature of rural organization. Besides these assemblies, there were in existence many other groups and corporations of social, religious or economic character, each interested in looking after some local institution or function. The village assemblies and the groups alike derived their responsibilities from ancient custom and ideal right (Dharma) and the moral support of the public. The members of the village assemblies did everything possible to promote orderly and peaceful development of the village. The groups represented the particular interest, while the assembly the general interest of the village such as dispensing justice and adjusting rival claims, to the satisfaction

<sup>2</sup> K.A.N. Sastri, *Colas II*, p. 267.



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of all parties. Social life was dominated by innumerable groups in the village. The individual did not lack opportunities for self expression. By birth, residence and occupation and sometimes by choice he was a member of one or more of these corporate bodies, each devoted to specific local purpose. There were several types of assemblies each type having specific functions. There is evidence to show that committees were appointed for executive work in rural administration. The functions of these committees must have been determined after a fairly long period of experiment and trial and error.

In the Cola period the actual selection of a member to the committee of assembly was by lot called *Kudavolai*. On bits of palm leaves were written the names of eligible persons and these bits were thrown into a narrow-mouthed pot and well shaken in the presence of the Assembly. A child was asked to take out one after another as many of the bits as were required for the purpose of the constitution of the committees. The selection was confined only to those who were duly nominated according to rules which laid down certain conditions which had to be satisfied by every person before he became eligible for such nomination. The work of the members of the *Sabhas* and committees was honorary. These village assemblies have definite responsibilities both towards the localities concerned and towards the central government. The political spirit of the time aimed at securing the harmony of classes rather than equality. "A healthy society based on a general distribution of small properties, which was free from the glaring economic oppression of one class by another had no particular use for the ideals of modern democracy." The description of Cola administration shows there was a high standard of administrative efficiency, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu State.

The old practice of paying workers of the village in kind still persists in many villages. The washerman washes clothes, barbers give unlimited shaves and potters make vessels required, priests help the performance of rituals and all these are given an annual share in the harvest of the grain in return for their services. Money economy has somewhat disrupted these conditions. The village of old was a self-sufficient economic unit; peasant and non-peasant families lived in harmony, cooperating with one another. The

autonomy of the village continued till the beginning of the British rule in India. The British in order to extend their authority and find market for their machine-made goods did all they could to shake up the village organization. The villages in pre-British days were, on all accounts, healthy and prosperous. Dismal poverty of villages seems to be of comparatively recent origin. Poverty, illhealth and illiteracy are really inseparable factors. It is not easy to say, which of these is the cause, and which the result. The lack of mobility of labour is often attributed to caste system among others. This is only partially true, but it does not explain the poverty of India. There seems to be truth in the allegation that British imperialism was the strongest single force which led to the decay of village economy, for the rural craftsmen could not compete with British machines in production and the weavers were the worst affected.

The peasant tilled the land and the king was entitled to the rent due to him. Sometimes there was a middle man through whom the rent was paid. The king had power of deriving revenue or rent from the peasant. Where it was not possible for the king to maintain direct relation with the village there was an intermediary between the village and its ruler. When the ruler was weak, the intermediary became ruler for himself; in this way perhaps came into existence most of the petty princes and zamindars. There was in India nothing analogous to the British manorial system in which villeins bound to the land could be disposed of with the land. Indian feudalism remained right through fiscal and military in character, but never manorial. What the king or the intermediary wanted was not land in the village, but a share of the produce by way of rent usually one-sixth, which under the Mughals rose to one-third. The villagers were little interested in the wars among the rulers and it mattered very little to them to whom they paid the rent. It was this attitude that was largely responsible for the apathy of the peasant in the politics of the country. The British administration brought the Thahasildar and the Revenue Inspector and the Settlement Officer in direct contact with the villages. Except in Zamins and Jagirs the British Government had direct authority for the collection of rent from the peasant. Village officials became hereditary and were loyal to the British Government. Village reconstruction was never seriously thought of by the British Govern-

ment, although their Department of Public Works carried out irrigation projects and late in their regime they started cooperative credit societies. The centralization of government gradually lessened the respect for customary law, so that the self-governing village community became weaker and weaker. Changing times and conflicts have, during the British rule, led to the break-up of village self-government.

To resuscitate the village is one of the major aims of the Five Year Plans of the Government of India. The effect of money economy on villages and the extent of help that the Community Development Scheme gives to them will be discussed later.

#### 4. HINDUISM AND PROGRESS

The Hindu religion deals with polytheism, monotheism and pantheism as well as belief in demons, heroes and ancestors. It deals with "different lines of thought and fuses them into a whole by means of its philosophical synthesis. A religion is judged by what it tends towards. Those who note the facts and miss the truth are unfair to the Hindu attempt."<sup>3</sup> For the Hindu, the doctrine that the soul has only one life, a few brief years, in the course of which it determines for itself an eternal heaven or an eternal hell, seems unreasonable and unethical. The Hindu believes that this life in the world is not the end of everything. He believes in as many as births as are necessary for the soul to qualify itself for eternal life. "All systems of Hindu thought accept the idea of the continuous existence of the individual human being as axiomatic." As you sow so shall you reap. Every act produces its natural result in future character. This is *Karma* or Causality which is common to all Asiatic religions. Most Western writers regard this as a paralyzing fatalism. But really it is the opposite of fatalism. It means that if we find ourselves helpless and unhappy we are not condemned to it by a deity outside of ourselves. "Raise yourself by your own effort" is the thought underlying the theory of *Karma*. Reconciliation with what is comes only when all human effort is exhausted. The idea that there are higher powers to rule our destinies prevents

<sup>3</sup> S. Radhakrishnan, *The Legacy of India*, p. 268.

the individual from holding other people responsible for his suffering.

*Karma*, renunciation and non-violence, all these, it is pointed out, engender in the Hindu a passivity and an inaction and militate against progress by which is meant improving standard of living and adding to our material culture the products of scientific inventions and technological devices. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took up the challenge. In his *Gita Rahasya* he points out that the earlier portion of the *Bhagavadgita* is a positive energism. This is a revolutionary book, which without alluding to politics, calls on people to rise and fight. According to Tilak's interpretation the object of all action should be *Loka samgraha* or the welfare of the world. Thus the *Gita* gives a social content to religion and emphasizes the welfare of the world as the purpose of all action. This is the very opposite of otherworldiness associated with the Hindu religion. The doctrine of sacrifice is given a wholly different meaning. Tilak emphasized the dynamic aspect of the *Gita* and stimulated people to action in such a way that the British Government even thought of proscribing the *Gita Rahasya*. Aurobindo in his essays on *Gita* emphasized the rationalism of the fourfold order of society and showed that it had no relation at any time to the caste system as practised.

Another significant teaching of the *Gita* is the rejuvenation of society based on Krishna's declaration: "Whenever and wherever *Dharma* decays and unrighteousness prospers, I shall be born in successive ages for the purpose of destroying evildoers and reestablishing the supremacy of the moral law." This means that qualitative change or revolution is a divinely ordained process.

Owing to the impact of the British a static society fell into a state of flux. The *Gita's* teaching came in as an aid to rouse people to action and stabilise the society. It promoted not only a religious fervour but social and political action. Hinduism itself became an intensely dynamic force. This trend in Hinduism is different from the dilution of Christian thought of the Brahma Samaj or the revivalism of Vedic concepts of the Arya Samaj or the Vedantism and missionary zeal of the Ramakrishna Mission. These are at best only socio-religious reform movements, mostly the result of Christian missionary attack on Hinduism. Tilak's interpretation of the *Gita* was definitely for the welfare of the world through action.

Gandhi's exposition of the *Gita*, though not so learned as that of Tilak's, emphasized that the *Gita's* idea was not merely selfless action for the welfare of the world, but that the means adopted to achieve the end should be ethically right. The suggestion in Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* is that the action dedicated to God was above moral laws so long as the object was the welfare of the world, thus indirectly countenancing even violence. Gandhi attempted to correct Tilak's interpretation of the *Gita* and propounded the doctrine of Ahimsa, or non-violence. Non-violence does not mean an absolute denial of force. It means that force used should not injure the nature of another's law of life, or *Swadharma*. Aurobindo's interpretation of the *Gita*, though philosophical, helped people understand its teachings in terms of life's problems.

There is nothing in the Hindu *Karma* and *Maya* that stands in the way of social and political progress, as is often alleged. If otherworldliness or negation of life had been practised, there would never have been the marvellous development of art, architecture music, dance, drama and literature, both secular and philosophical, in the Hindu period or the vitality to resist the onslaught of Islam and Christianity. While the Vedas are still believed to be of divine origin and unalterable, the *Smritis* which explain them have been held capable of being interpreted to suit the needs of changing times. The philosophic resignation of the Hindus to the Islamic rule as well as that of the British was due to their political and economic helplessness, not to the so called passivity of Hinduism.

Even the much condemned caste system does not hinder progress or development of nationalism. Everyone thinks that the caste to which he belongs is superior to others, no matter where it is placed in the social hierarchy. This pride serves a useful purpose, for it is always accompanied by intense solidarity. In a calamity like flood, fire or famine people forget caste distinctions and cooperate with one another for the common good. This cooperative spirit is a characteristic feature of all Asian nations. That is why Soviet Russia and China have been able to mobilize thousands of volunteers in order to execute large public works such as roads, canals and dams. That this group solidarity facilitates the development of patriotism has been clearly demonstrated by Indians when they stood as a man against Chinese aggression. The predisposition of the

Indian to sacrifice himself for the group makes it easy for him to transfer his self-sacrificing spirit from the group to the nation. Hence if the individual considers himself socially and materially as a mere cog-wheel in a large machine it is no impediment to the development of nationalism or progress. While in worldly affairs the Indian subordinates himself to the group, in the higher spheres of thought, religion and spirituality he preserves a strong independence. But it is the reverse that happens to the individual in the West; in the higher spheres of life he easily conforms and at the same time claims greater freedom in economic and social matters. In India it is the Yogi who renounces the world for his individual salvation, but all are not to turn yogis and the individual is free to follow the *dharma*, which falls to his lot by birth, choice or accident, not only for the benefit of his own life, but also for the welfare of the society as a whole.

*The Life of the People  
through Ages*

THE chief occupation of the people in India has from time immemorial been agriculture. Here is a description of the life of the village people as gleaned from the Vedas. They ploughed the ground, the plough being drawn by two oxen fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces and driven with goad. The ploughshare was made of iron which supplanted the older ploughshare. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals, from wells or lakes or by raising water from wells by means of wooden or metal buckets tied to a rope pulled round a stone pulley. They reaped the fields with sickles. They threshed the sheaves on threshing floor, winnowed the corn in winnowing baskets and then carried it to their barns. Agriculture was followed not merely for one's own family for food but as a means for acquiring wealth.

Cowherds took cows out to pasture daily. Cows were milked not only by ladies of the household, but also by professional milkers.

Goats and sheep were reared and dogs were kept for guarding houses and cattle. Weaving cotton and wool was done by men and women. Carpenters made chariots and carts. Woodwork included wood carving. Houses were mostly of wood and were put up by carpenters who also made household utensils such as ladles, cups, buckets and bowls. Blacksmiths made weapons of war and agricultural implements. Workers in leather made casks for holding water. Bullock's hide was used for holding shields and making drums. The physicians employed spells and medicines to cure ills. Priests chanted prayers for the prosperity of the liberal lords from whom they received rewards. The bulk of the people were poor and borrowed at usurious rates of interest and repaid their debts in eight or sixteen instalments. *Atharva Veda* says that people died of starvation during famine. Men wore two clothes, the upper one especially on ceremonial occasions was of deer skin. The priests shaved head leaving a tuft worn in a knot. The clothes were of cotton or of wool. The men were very particular about bathing, and women bathed as now in rivers or tanks. Rice, barley, beans and sesamum were the chief vegetable food stuffs. The eating of fishes and birds appears to have been common. Fruits were also eaten. Foods were served on leaf platters, the lotus leaf being commonly used for the purpose.

The first important rite in the life of girls was marriage. The *Atharva Veda* gives details of different ways of marriage. In those days the people that did not follow the fire rituals formed the majority of the population. Perhaps their rites were exactly like the forms of worship observed by some non-Brahmins and scheduled castes today. The public rites of the fire cult were much more elaborate than the domestic rites. Animals were sometimes sacrificed. There were four stages in a man's life. The *Brahmacharya* was a period of education and celibacy, and the *Grihasthasrama* of married life. After a period of married life the man left home for contemplation and became a *Vanaprastha* and the *Sanyasa* was the stage in which the man renounced the world altogether for his salvation. We do not know if all the four stages were gone through by an individual with any regularity nor do we know how long these stages were kept up in India. People believed in the efficacy of the *mantras*. The life of the people was greatly governed



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by these *mantras*. From before birth to after death the individual's life was governed by the *mantras*. Almost every custom and every institution referred to in the ancient texts are yet observed in India. Every *mantra* could still be heard and every image described in the ancient texts can be seen in thousands of villages today. There have been volcanic upheavals of society, like that which was caused by the spread of Jainism and Buddhism. There were also tremendous thunder storms of foreign invasions into India. But in spite of them all rural life in India is very little changed from what it was thousands of years ago.

Personal cleanliness is a special feature of Hindu life. Western critics say that there is no civic conscience among the people, for they do not keep their surroundings clean. Early rising and worship and going about one's duties with regularity formed part of the life of the ancient people. Throughout the ages they continued to be so, perhaps the discipline became weaker and weaker as centuries advanced. When modern means of transport and communication brought the villages in contact with towns, rural life began to disintegrate, but even now we see villagers clinging to ancient customs.

In the age of the Mauryas the vastness of India's agricultural and mineral resources and the extraordinary skill of the craftsmen were noted with admiration by the companions of Alexander and by Megasthenes. The building of boats and ships and making of carts and chariots and the manufacture of machines are mentioned besides house building. The Mauryan State itself was a vast industrial and trading concern and employed in its service vast number of artisans and merchants. Kings and Lords patronised learning, and art and craft flourished. In the age of the Guptas we have clear accounts of higher education, secular and religious. *Agrahara* villages were mostly centres of higher education. In this period Taxila seems to have declined. Nalanda, Vallabi and Kanchi were rising to prominence.

In olden days omens seemed to have played a great part in the life of the people and later astrology developed. Even today omens influence the people, and newspapers and magazines not only in local languages but also in English give regularly a forecast of the influence of planets on the lives of people for specific periods.

One of the changes that came over the people in their form of worship deserves mention. At first worship was through prayers. This was replaced by image worship in temples that probably arose in and after the third century B.C. Asoka's inscriptions make no mention of temples. Buddha, who neither denied nor accepted God, was idolized. It is an irony of history that images of Buddha should have been the first to be set up for worship. The visual appeal of the image led to the emergence of idol worship in temples. The temple filled a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people, and its role as a social institution can hardly be exaggerated. Its construction and the making of images to be installed in it gave employment to large numbers and scope for the talent of artists. On its daily routine depended numbers of priests, choristers, musicians, dancing girls, florists, cooks and others. Its periodical festivals were attended by fairs, learned contests, wrestling matches and every form of popular entertainment. In the middle ages the temple was also a great landlord, bank, school, hospital, fortress, and what not. The jewellers flourished on the demands of temples and palaces. Kings lavished their bounty on temples, and their courtiers and the merchant princes in the country followed their example. From very early days holy places became multiplied. Seven holy cities are known to classical literature: Haridwar, Kasi, Prayag, Dwaraka, Puri, Gaya and Kanchi. Similarly there are seven holy rivers. Places associated with the names of the heroes of the epics came to be regarded as holy places. Even today they draw thousands of pilgrims. Local objects such as a running stream, the bubbling spring or a volcanic fire came to be regarded as sacred and worthy of worship.

We have already noted how caste system became much complicated during the medieval times. The Brahmanas were the heads of *Gurukulas* and through their labours much that was handed down through oral tradition came to be reduced to writing. Before the Muslim rule began Indians seem to have enjoyed life passionately. They delighted not only in things of the world but those of the spirit also. It is said that the teaching of the great *Acharyas* such as Sankara, Ramanuja and Anandatirtha, which stressed renunciation, struck a pessimistic note, depriving people of their joy of life, but exhorted the votaries of Hinduism to keep up the ancient ideals.

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The imperial power of the Afghan rulers was much less felt in the villages than in the previous period. Muslim government generally avoided villages. Their representatives and agents were contented to govern the countryside from the seats of their authority, in bigger towns. Among the temples built in the Muslim period the Sun temple built by Narasimha Deva of Orissa (1238-64) at Konaraka is a magnificent example of the art of the period. The Tajpal temple at Abu has been considered as one of the architectural wonders of the world. Besides morning and evening prayers at temples some days of the months came to be observed as fasts and some others as feasts and the holy days spread right through the year. It is in this period that daily life was complicated by popular belief in omens and astrology. The common man tried to do everything on an auspicious hour. The belief in the doctrine of *Karma* deepened. The caste system assumed a rigid form. It was during this period that dining among the various sections even of the same caste came to an end. Innumerable sub-castes were formed due to difference in occupations or other causes. Brahmanas as a class stood apart from the rest of the people and even they were divided into innumerable sections. There were untouchables in the North, but in the South even their very shadow was regarded as pollution.

The Arab, the Turk, and the Afghan Muslims who poured into India formed a distinct group of ruling Muslims. There were mass conversions to Islam in this period. But the converts continued to call themselves by their caste names, for example Muslim Rajputs in the Punjab. The converts to Islam often stuck to their tribal or local customs and very rarely accepted the Muslim law. Muslim foreigners looked down upon these converts. The Shias and Sunnis stood ranged against each other as in Gujarat and Kashmir. The Bohras and Khojas in Gujarat were always treated as heretics. The slaves formed a class by themselves but were often allowed to high rank by their masters. Tombs of Muslim saints became objects of worship both to Hindus and Muslims. This is the period in which Sanskrit scholarship continued to flourish and several law digests were prepared. Among them may be mentioned the *Deval Smriti* which laid down an elaborate purificatory ritual for taking back Hindus who may have left the fold. Amir Kushru

compares Indian men, women, rivers, flora and fauna with those of all the countries he knew of and conceded that India had the better of all the countries. The Turkish princes issued bilingual coins and the language used reflected the development of Hindi of the *Prithviraj Rasa* which uses many words of Persian origin. Sanskrit continued to be the language of the scholarly world. *Bhakti* movement and mysticism appear to have provided solace to thousands of devotees.

Village life during the Muslim period continued to be the same as that during the previous Hindu period. Ceremonies and rituals were followed as regularly as ever before, in order that Hinduism might preserve its identity unaffected by Islamic onslaught. As we have noted already, it was during the British period that the villagers began to lose their solidarity and feel emasculated.

In the later half of the nineteenth century there was demand for Indian labour by British capitalists in Ceylon, South Africa, Malaya and Fiji islands. Indians with the hope of bettering their prospects went as emigrants to work in mines and plantations. Some of them settled with their families in those countries. Then came the system of indentured labour, for the emigrants lived and worked for a specified number of years, after which some of them settled down there as free labourers or came back to their homeland, bringing with them ideas of life abroad. Their accounts broadened the outlook of villagers with whom they came in contact. Gandhi worked for the welfare and civic rights of Indians who had settled down in South Africa and his experiences there led to the abolition of the system of indentured labour (1917) because it was derogatory to the nation. A large number of those that settled in Ceylon are now deprived of their rights of citizenship. After 1947 Indians that settled in Burma as traders, professionalists and landholders had to come back to India owing to the severe nationalization policy of the Burmese Government. Then came refugees from Pakistan. All these have increased the complexity of Indian economic conditions.

The first decade of twentieth century marks the beginning of renaissance in India. The Congress, started in 1885, gradually made itself felt both on the British government and on the public. At first, it agitated for due representation of Indians in higher civil

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and judicial services and then worked for securing political rights for the people. It was Tilak who first turned the Congress into an organization for securing Home Rule for India.

Political consciousness among the people was awakened by the exercise of franchise for the constitution of taluk boards, district boards and municipalities. Ripon was the harbinger of local self-government in India. Discriminatory treatment to Britishers in railway travel and the Ilbert Bill<sup>1</sup> controversy roused the suspicion of the people and engendered feelings of racial antagonism. Japan's success over Russia in 1904 exploded the theory of Western superiority in science and warfare. Curzon's partition of Bengal to keep the Hindus and Muslims apart roused a nationwide protest. British goods were boycotted and the *Swadeshi* movement gained strength.

In spite of the prejudice against the British ruling class the public and princes of India cooperated with Britain in her war against Germany (1914-18). It was hoped that after this first world war the authoritarian regime in India would transform itself into a popular one in appreciation of India's war services. Nothing of the kind happened. Discontent among the people deepened. It was at this time that Gandhi took up the leadership of the Congress and turned it into the mouthpiece of the Indian people. The response of the people to the call of the Congress demonstrated the native shrewdness and power of judgement of the uneducated masses of the people. About his first experience with the peasants of India in 1920 Jawaharlal Nehru says : "I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy-going and comfortable life and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. There was only one way of ameliorating the conditions of "the rice eating puny millions of India." That was by freeing India from British domination."

<sup>1</sup> According to law a European British subject could be tried only by a European and Ripon decided to abolish the "judicial disqualifications based on race distinctions. Ilbert, the then Legal Member, prepared a bill to give effect to the decision." The Europeans raised a storm of protest against it.

*Indian Nationalism*

A NATION is thought of as a distinct race or people having common descent, language, history, government and habit, but few nations possess all these common factors. The Jews, for example, had not a foot of territory which they could call their own, till in 1919 they were provided with a national home in Palestine. Nevertheless, all through the centuries of their dispersion, they preserved a high sense of nationality. The term 'nation' defies precise definition. Its chief ingredient is a corporate sentiment or collective consciousness, which makes people desire to live under one government and feel proud of their motherland. It must here be pointed out that the spirit of medieval Europe was not nationalistic, but ecumenical. Although the English people had shown their sense of nationalism earlier as in their Hundred Years' War with France, it was only in the early half of the sixteenth century that they exhibited their nationalism by successfully challenging the claims of the Papacy for universal domination.

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It is not easy to trace the origin and development of Indian nationalism. From the age of the *mantras*, to the Hindu India has been the land from the Himalayas in the North to Cape Comerin in the South, although the country may have been split up into innumerable independent kingdoms. We have already observed that the Hindu resistance to foreign invasions had always been nationalistic in character. Historical consciousness is a necessary component of nationalism. It is this which expresses itself in practical effort for the political and social uplift of the nation.

The critic says that the Hindus lacked this consciousness and so could not put themselves on a footing of equality with the Muslims or the British both of whom had rich and vigorous historical traditions behind them. True, before the publication of the results of European oriental researches to which we have alluded earlier, India had practically no written history beyond myths, legends and *puranas* to link up the past with the present. The absence of written history like the *Rajatarangani* of Kalhana cannot lead to the conclusion that the Hindus were not conscious of a heritage of their own, when in their daily life they felt proud of carrying it, to be handed over to the next generation. The history of India has been found in numerous inscriptions, grants, traditions, *puranas* and customary law of the people. Excavations such as those at Harappa and Mohenjodaro are ocular testimonies of the past glory reinforcing the heritage of the civilization of the vanished cities. The new thing is using historical consciousness as a political weapon. It is not easy for the historian to say how many of the nation states of Europe deliberately used historical consciousness as a political weapon against their adversaries in the course of history. Because there is no written history of the pre-Islamic period, of a type acceptable to Western scholars, it is argued that the Indians had not the capacity of connecting events with time and space. Hindu cosmology refutes the charge, by its wonderful concepts of time and space. Kings had to adhere to the *Dharmashastra* and their *dharmas* were prescribed. Record of political events only would show the extent to which the rulers stuck to the *dharmas* or deviated from them. A record of this kind did not perhaps seem important in human affairs when the seers and sages were engaged in the quest of the ultimate Truth. Anyway

the hypotheses based on a lack of an authentic history for the Hindu period require careful and scholarly testing.

A long period of political subjection first to Muslim rule and then to the British did of course depress the Hindu spirit. In the late nineteenth century, India had a high type of leadership in social and political reforms. The facts of history revealed by researches came to be employed for political and social purposes. The first effect was a blind glorification of the past and an attempt at its revival. Leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and the Tagore sought to give a modern direction to the historical consciousness of the people: Ram Mohan Roy and later Ranade, Gokhale and Mehta believed that British rule in India was a case of conscience. While they were courageous in criticizing it they sincerely believed that the British connection with India was a divinely ordained one. Briefly stated, the liberals of the nineteenth century thought less of the Hindu past, than of the political and social theories of the modern West. The first popular impulse was to promote a sense of pride of the past, recollecting the glories of the Mauryan, the Satavahana and the Gupta ages. Knowledge of the Indian colonization in South East Asia up to the fifth century A.D. and the glory associated with Champa, Kamboja, Sri Vijaya and Java and the maritime activities of Kalinga and the Southern Tamil kingdoms, all these served to revive the drooping spirit of the Indians in the nineteenth century. Ellora, Ajanta, Mahabalipuram, the temples of Orissa and the Cola bronzes brought a new meaning of art and architecture to the Hindus all over India. The Hindus felt that they were in no way inferior to their rulers. As a reaction to the revivalism there arose a movement to develop social and political institutions on Western models and promote a scientific spirit among the people, rejecting much of the past as a dead weight. The Gandhian approach to national problems was based largely on Tilak's theory of action, but with a greater emphasis on the ethical aspect of the action. For example, while Gandhi declared that the British rule in India was satanic, he admonished his countrymen to bear no hatred to the British people. It is difficult to determine how far Ghandhism used the newly awakened historical consciousness and political consciousness in leading the struggle for independence. This was a democratic socio-religious movement with



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ultimate political ends.

Political consciousness is generally understood as a capacity to make a distinction between various types of political institutions and to make deliberate choice among themselves. Indians, accustomed as they had been to limited absolute rule, found it somewhat difficult to understand the implications of modern ideas of democracy, although the grass roots of democracy could be found in the innumerable republics of India, in the Buddhist assembly and in the village Panchayats. Raja Ram Mohan Roy should be credited with having been the first Indian to understand and appreciate the character of political institutions of the West. He found that democracy was a dissolvent of British power in India, but it was not possible for him as well as for the other liberals that came after him to inculcate among general mass of people any strong or widespread desire for internal political freedom or democratic freedom. Gandhi was able to contact the masses and rouse in them a strong desire for political freedom and social justice. But here the critic may saucily say that an overwhelming majority of the people of India have been perfectly content with "an oligarchical one party rule", and so they have not shown their capacity to appreciate political freedom and personal liberty. There are people who sincerely bemoan the disappearance of the nineteenth century liberalism in India, after the advent of Gandhism. The way people have exercised their franchise shows how ideas of democratic freedom have permeated the masses. The Congress rule is due to the absence of a powerful party in opposition, capable of taking its place. In fact Gandhi advised that the Congress should be dissolved as it had achieved its purpose, of securing freedom and a new party should be formed. The leaders of the Congress being inheritors of power were reluctant to take the risk involved in Gandhi's suggestion. However, nothing prevents the formation of a strong all India political party with a captivating programme to dislodge the Congress from its seat of power. Indian nationalism has to be judged on its own merits. It has certain drawbacks as indeed the nationalism of any other country has. Casteism plays some part in the elections. Lingualism and parochialism often show their ugly features. The masses of people are often guided more by personal loyalty to leaders than by institutional loyalty.

At the time when the British were supreme in India, the educated middle class serving the Mughals transferred their loyalty and service to the British authorities. The fact that the Muslims were the ruling class so worked on the minds of the British authorities that they preferred the support of the Muslims to that of the Hindus. When English took the place of Persian as the official language, the Muslims became dispirited. They did not take to English education. The Hindus took advantage of the educational opportunities and offered themselves for serving in the British Government. It was high class Hindus that entered government service. The princes and lords in India having become subservient to the British authorities could not support scholars and artists as generously as their predecessors had done. Hence middle class intelligentsia of the community had to rely on service under the British for their very existence. Thus the Kayasthas of Bengal, the Khatries of the United Provinces, and the Brahmins of South India entered subordinate civil and military services. Sir Sayed Ahamed Khan realized the position of the Muslims. In 1877 he started a college for Muslims in Aligarh with the object of imparting instruction (both Islamic and Western) and this later developed into the Aligarh University. The British authorities gave every possible support to the development of Aligarh University whose aim was to promote separatist tendencies among the Muslims. Sir Sayed Ahamed Khan may well be regarded as the 'morning star' of the two nation theory. Henceforward it was the Muslims that steadily gained the support of the British authorities. The Muslims except for a few highly educated among them avoided the Congress. The Indian National Congress at first followed a moderate policy, claiming for Indians a share in the higher posts of administration. There were two schools of thought, one represented by Gokhale and the other by Tilak. Gokhale was for the continuance of British rule until such time as Indians became fit for self-government, but Tilak stressed the evils of foreign rule, stood for a Hindu revival and opposed Westernization of Hindu society. He organized a festival in 1895 to commemorate the coronation of Shivaji every year and a festival for Lord Ganesha, the lord who would ward off all evils. Tilak asserted that Home Rule was his birth right.

His teachings played no small part in awakening political con-

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sciousness among the people. In 1882 Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act of 1875 and newspapers in vernaculars sprang up. They served to promote political consciousness among the people. Services rendered by English dailies as *The Hindu* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are worth recording.

Legislative councils came up by laws passed in 1861-62 giving Indians limited opportunities for active participation in law-making and control of administration. But the people were not satisfied. In Bengal secret societies arose for political assassination. The partition of Bengal generated political activity all over the country. In 1906 the Congress declared Swaraj as its goal. Curzon predicted that Congress was tottering and would soon perish. But contrary to all that he said it became more and more powerful. The British stirred Muslims against Hindus. The Minto-Morley Reforms (1909) introduced the principle of election to legislative bodies in a very restricted measure. This only increased the discontent of the people. Anarchism in Bengal continued (1915-17). The Defence of India Act enabled the government to control the revolutionary movement. During First World War (1914-18) the moderates were weakened by the deaths of Gokhale and Mehta. Tilak and Mrs. Besant gained popularity and demanded Home rule. It is no exaggeration to say that they laid the foundation for India's struggle for freedom.

*The Struggle for Freedom*

DURING the first two years of war (1914-18) moderate politicians and the princes and people in general were full of enthusiasm for the British cause. An ammunition board was set up to coordinate the activity of military supply and the arms supply to troops. This developed the manufacturing resources of India, because India was the base of supplies for many articles used by the imperial and allied forces. Nearly 1.75 million people were recruited for war and of them nearly two-third were combatants. The Indians hoped that the cooperation and support in war efforts would evoke from the British a favourable gesture for political advancement, but the British Government took the enthusiasm of Indian people as an expression of their tribute to the benevolence of the British rule in India. They made it clear that every political step would be postponed to a date after the war. The Indian soldiers found that they were not in any way inferior to European soldiers. They

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could not help feeling that they were treated as inferiors to British soldiers in the matter of pay and rations. When they returned home after the war, they could find no useful employment and so stirred up discontent among the people. Conditions of war required raising of taxes all round. Duties on cotton goods went up high and rising prices added to the economic ills. The most important effect of the First World War was that Western civilization came to be regarded with less esteem than before. Although European nations belonged to the Christian community they had no compunction in fighting and killing one another mercilessly to win their cause. In 1917 President Wilson supported the ideas of national freedom and self-determination of people. The Indians began to demand self-government. Edwin Montagu, who succeeded Austin Chamberline at the India Office declared that the policy of his Majesty's Government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. This declaration satisfied neither the Hindus nor the Muslims. The Muslim League and the Congress met at Lucknow, composed their differences and evolved a plan of government for India. This was the Congress-League scheme which included separate electorates and weightage for Muslims.

Montagu visited India (1917-18). He was a man who was really interested in the welfare of India. That was a time when the agitation for Home Rule became persistent, and the Justice party representing the non-Brahmanas in the South were outspokenly against the Brahmin community. Gandhi was rising to prominence in Indian politics. He found that Satyagraha as expressed through passive resistance or non-violent non-cooperation which he had practised in South Africa would work well in India. Gandhi's entry into Indian politics was a turning point in the history of freedom struggle. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms published in July 1918 adopted the principle of diarchy. The Congress condemned diarchy as likely to cause friction. The moderates welcomed it. In the provinces executives consisted of two sections, one section consisted of members nominated by the Crown half of whom should be Indian and the other section made up of ministers appointed

by the majority party in the legislature. The ministers were in charge of education, local self-government, forest and excise called transferred subjects. Finance, police and revenue were 'reserved subjects' in the hands of executive councillors. Muslims, Sikhs in the Punjab, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians got separate electorates. The supreme government continued to be unitary and responsible to the Secretary of State as before. The legislature became bicameral, the upper house was called Council of States which consisted of an elected majority. The official block ceased to exist. The franchise for the Council of States was based on property qualification. The Legislative Assembly had forty nominated members of whom twenty-five were officials and 106 members elected on a wide franchise, including women. The Governor General had the power to certify or veto any measure passed or voted down by the assembly. These reforms went into operation in an atmosphere of tragedy and strife. That was the time when the Defence of India Act was due to lapse. To arm themselves with sufficient power to check the outrages of terrorists two stringent Acts popularly known as the Rowlat Acts were passed by the unreformed legislature in January 1919. This gave the authorities power to try terrorists without a jury and imprison people on mere suspicion. The Rowlat Acts were a challenge to the Indian people. They roused the resentment of all the political parties in India. There were other causes which stirred up discontent among the labourers. Rich industrialists who had made enormous profits during war were unwilling to spend money on equipment or wages. The epidemic of influenza carried away many millions of people. Now Gandhi wanted the people to observe a fast for twenty-four hours on 6 April 1919. By then Gandhi had started civil disobedience movement. Following the murder of a European and a woman at Amritsar, martial law was declared. Amritsar was handed over to the military. All public meetings were forbidden. In the evening on 13 April, the Hindu New Year's Day, there was a large gathering in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. Unarmed people were shot at by armed men. In about ten minutes, 379 were killed and many hundreds were wounded. But eye witnesses put the figure much higher. For nearly nine months Amritsar was under martial law. The Jallianwala

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Bagh Tragedy made people very angry. General Dyer, who was responsible for the tragedy, was appreciated by the British authorities and given promotion. Therefore, the relations between the British and the Indians became more bitter than ever before. In December 1920 the Indian National Congress met at Nagpur and declared that India's goal was the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means.

From 1920 to 1945 the Congress was led by Gandhi. Gandhi's programme of action was very different from any that had been so far adopted by politicians in the country. He carried the mass of people with him. He lived in villages, dressed himself in the loin cloth like the lowest labourer and made it a point to live in untouchable colonies. He was for altering the fundamental class relationship in India. He set an example of leading a simple life. He advised Congress workers not to have possessions or facilities which the millions of poor people in India could not have. This in general led to a rearrangement of life among Congressmen so as to be as near to the peasant's life as possible. The masses understood Gandhiji and responded to his call. But the urban middle class brought up in liberal traditions thought that Gandhi's reliance on the illiterate masses was fraught with danger to society. His call to the educated people to give up luxuries was definite and clear. His technique was non-violent non-cooperation. He made those that were serving the government in various capacities understand that it was shameful for them to assist the Britisher in maintaining his dominion in India. He called on lawyers to give up practice and non-cooperate with the government in the administration of law. He appealed to students to give up their studies and go to villages for hard work. Another technique he employed was civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. If indeed those who were cooperating with the government in various services had suspended their work the entire government should have come to a stand-still and Swaraj might have come in one year as he had promised. But this did not happen. However, it was no small achievement for Gandhi that lawyers with roaring practice like Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, S. Srinivasa Iyyengar and C. Rajagopalchari willingly responded to his call.

Jawaharlal Nehru was ready and willing to follow Mahatma Gandhi.

Indeed he was torn between the spiritual ideals of his motherland and the modernism of the West. He was for action and Mahatma Gandhi's programme appealed to him. But Nehru's outlook on life was fundamentally different from that of Gandhi. He was unable to understand Gandhi's intuitive decisions to call off civil disobedience, to undertake fasts on occasions, to bring moral pressure on people and insist on Khadi and on cottage industries in preference to industrial development of the country. Nevertheless, he realized that Gandhi represented the masses of India and held the magic wand of rousing people to action. Sometimes he would storm against Gandhi's decisions but he always yielded to the better judgement of his leader. Gandhi knew his disciple and his capacity for self-sacrifice and devoted service. He therefore said that the nation would be safe in Jawaharlal Nehru's hands. Among those that worked with Gandhi was Patel, who successfully led the No-Tax-Campaign in Bardoli.

Gandhi's saintly character won for him universal respect. Villagers regarded him as a Mahatma. By his incessant preaching he dispelled fear in the hearts of men and women in India. Rich men were willing to sacrifice their wealth and comfort. Some people in high positions were willing to give them up. The response to his call for non-violent non-cooperation was so striking that Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, condescended to negotiate with him (13 May 1921), but the discussions produced no tangible results. Respected leaders all over the country were arrested and put in prison, generally for short terms. In December 1921 the Nehrus and C.R. Dass were arrested and sent to prison. But still the government considered it unwise to spirit Gandhi away from the scene of his activities, for they felt that his presence would ensure non-violence. Official repression assumed such frightening proportions that even loyal government servants grew angry. In this movement women vied with men to exhibit their spirit of self-sacrifice and their readiness to go to jail. Nearly thirty thousand civil resisters were put in jail (1921-22). The way people sacrificed their wealth and comfort amazed and unnerved the government. In his despatch to the Secretary of State, in February 1922, the Viceroy frankly admitted that the no-cooperation movement had been "engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations".



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Meanwhile elections to the legislatures went on. Only about a third of the voters took part in them. The Justice Party in Madras captured political power, so as to redress social imbalance between the Brahmanas and non-brahmanas, under the leadership of Thyagaraya Chetty and T.M. Nair. In other provinces ministries were formed on coalitions of various groups. The Central legislature was opened by the Duke of Cunnaught in February 1921. In April of the same year, Lord Reading succeeded Chelmsford as Viceroy. The British Government arranged for the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. The Congress Committee resolved on a boycott of the Prince of Wales. Hindu-Muslim tension, in spite of the best efforts of Gandhi to bring about a union, grew worse. The Prince of Wales visited India on 17 September 1921. Those who led the boycott were arrested and imprisoned. In December 1921 Congress met at Allahabad and affirmed its faith in non-cooperation. Gandhi was appointed the sole executive authority of the Congress. In Bombay there were riots on the occasion of the Prince's visit. Mahatma Gandhi greatly resented this act and went on five days' fast. At Chauri Chaura in U.P. a violent mob killed some twenty police officials and a sub-inspector. This made Gandhi call off civil disobedience in all its forms. Gandhi was, however, arrested and sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Accepting the sentence, Gandhi said "I do not ask for mercy, I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here therefore to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me, for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

Work of the legislatures went on smoothly. Indianization proceeded in the several services. Fiscal autonomy came to some extent. Military expenditure was reduced. The organization of the territorial force gave an opening to military life to the middle class Indians. There was a deficit in the Viceroy's budget and the Viceroy had to certify a bill for doubling salt tax (1923). Gandhi was in jail. Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das thought that non-cooperation should be combined with council entry and so formed a new Swaraj Party. Their policy was to wreck the reforms from within the council. In the new Assembly Swarajists secured fifty out of 140 seats. In the provinces except Bengal and Central

Provinces nowhere was the Swarajist strength enough to mend or end the council.

In 1924 Motilal Nehru carried a resolution formulating national demand for a round table conference to framing a scheme of responsible government. There was a general sense of frustration and the Congress needed someone to give them a sense of direction. Motilal's resolution resulted in a report; the majority of the members of the committee recommended details for the smooth working of diarchy, while the minority held that diarchy was inherently unworkable. The government accepted the majority report. Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State, challenged the Indians to produce a constitution of their own. The Indian National Convention accepted the challenge.

In April 1926 Lord Reading was succeeded by Lord Irwin. At that time fierce communal riots broke out in Calcutta. In the next elections Swarajists lost heavily in the Central Assembly but gained in the provincial councils of Bengal, Bihar and Madras. Gauhati (Assam) Congress declared itself against acceptance of office until the national demand was conceded. Irwin wanted to break the impasse and bring about communal harmony. He urged on the Home Government to deal with the actual facts of the situation. Thereupon a commission of seven members, all British under the presidency of Sir John Simon was set up to enquire into the working of the constitution. As there was no Indian on the commission the moderates under Sapru and the Congress party under Motilal united in opposition to the commission. Simon was empowered to include six elected Indian members of the central legislature to sit with the commission and report separately at the same time as the British Commission.

In December 1927, the Madras Congress resolved that its goal was *Poorna Swaraj* or complete independence. On 3 February 1928, the Simon Commission landed in Bombay. There were hartals and hostile demonstrations wherever the commission went.

There was an all party conference which drafted a constitution. This was mainly the work of Motilal Nehru and Sapru. This accepted the Muslim point of view over the formation of the North Western Frontier Provinces and the separation of Sind and recommended the abolition of communal electorates. Jinnah, the Muslim

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League leader, was a signatory to this report. Gandhi, who was now free, re-entered the political field and allowed Vallabhbhai Patel to start Satyagraha campaign at Bardoli against the unjustified increase in the land revenue assessment. After six months Patel succeeded (1928). Jawaharlal Nehru did not at all like the constitution framed by the All Party's Conference. However, at the Congress session in Calcutta in 1928 the constitution was accepted on condition that if the British Government did not accept it before the end of 1929, the Congress would be free to launch a countrywide non-cooperative movement, including non-payment of taxes. Meanwhile the depressed classes under Ambedkar, the Muslims and the Hindu Mahasabha formed parties to press their communal claims.

The Simon Commission paid two visits. While leading the boycott of Simon Commission at Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai, a veteran Congress leader, was beaten in the chest in October 1928; he died on 17 November. This caused deep resentment and great sorrow to the people of India. In December 1929 the Congress met at Lahore under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru and declared that complete independence was the goal of India. January 26 was declared as Independence Day. Subash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to take action on the Congress resolutions, but Gandhi refused to yield. Some months later Gandhi decided on defying the Salt Law. He wanted the abolition of the Salt Act. Jawaharlal was not much impressed with Gandhi's move but very soon found that this item of poor man's food caught the imagination of people. Gandhi's historical march to Dandi, a sea side resort on the west coast, was a tremendous success. On 5 April, 1930, Gandhi ceremoniously broke the Salt Law. Men and women in all parts of India enthusiastically followed Gandhi in breaking the Salt Law. When Gandhi was arrested civil disobedience movement gathered strength. Ninety thousand satyagrahis were seized and sent to prison. The massive character of the satyagraha unnerved the Viceroy and the British officials. The Garhwali troops refused to open fire on an unarmed crowd at Peshawar, and military experts viewed the situation with alarm. The feeling came upon the British officials that it was impossible to govern the country in defiance of Mahatma Gandhi.

The first Round Table Conference was opened in London on 2 November 1930. Those that represented India were all Viceroy's nominees. The Congress and Gandhi did not attend it. In 1931 Ramsay Macdonald held out hopes of making a sudden transfer of power to India. At the Round Table Conference minorities were unyielding. Each of the groups was claiming a virtual veto on progress. It was impossible to reach an agreed solution.

With the approval of Ramsay Macdonald, Irwin took the bold step of releasing the Congress leaders and withdrawing the notification declaring that the Congress was an illegal association. Irwin negotiated with Gandhi and the pact between them was published. The Congress agreed to discontinue civil disobedience and to take part in the next session of the Round Table Conference and the government agreed to withdraw its ordinances and release the political prisoners not convicted of violent crime. The only gain of this pact was that Mahatma was recognized as the real representative of the Indian people.

Irwin left India on 18th April 1931 and Willingdon, a very different man, became the Viceroy. Gandhi left India for London as the sole representative of the Congress. The second session of the Round Table Conference lasted from 7 September to 1 December 1931. Gandhi claimed to be the sole proper representative of all India including Muslims, depressed classes and other minorities. Now the Muslims became suspicious and did not want self-government for India, for the Muslim minority would ever be under the control of the Hindu majority. No agreement could be reached and Macdonald declared that if Indians could not evolve an agreed settlement his government would impose a provisional scheme of their own. On 28 December 1931 Gandhi returned to India. His lieutenants including Jawaharlal Nehru had been by then put in jail. There was ordinance rule prevailing in India. Willingdon was bent upon crushing the Congress. Gandhi was arrested on 4 January 1932 and put in Yerawada jail. The Working Committee of the Congress was declared an unlawful body. Its records and papers were all seized and its funds were sequestered, and thousands of people were sentenced during the year.

In August 1932 the government published their communal award. Thereupon Gandhi began a fast unto death to secure its modifi-

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cation (20 September 1932). Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, yielded to the moral persuasion of Gandhi and the Poona Pact was concluded between the Congress and the depressed classes, according to which reserved seats were provided in general constituencies for the depressed classes. This pact was accepted by the government. The third and final session of the Round Table Conference was held without the Congress and the Labour Party (November-December 1932). A Parliamentary Joint Select Committee was appointed to draft a Government of India Bill. It was resolved that Burma should be separated from India. The White Paper did not satisfy even moderate Indian opinion. Full control was still retained by the British Government as the legislators of India's destiny. The bill became law on 2 August 1935. This Act retained all the objectionable features of communal representation. Diarchy was abolished. There was no substantial improvement in the effectiveness of the Council of Ministers, for the Governor and the Governor General could according to the instrument of instructions nullify any assertion of popular will in the country's administration. The Viceroy had special powers and responsibilities relating to the maintenance of internal peace, defence, foreign policy, safeguarding of financial stability and of minority interests. The British policy was to make use of communal differences so that they might postpone the date of transfer of power to Indians.

The Congress fought the elections and accepted the responsibilities of government in provinces in 1937. The Congress policy was to bend the constitution to its will or to break it. The federation proposed in 1935 Act was objectionable to the Congress but it never came. The Congress ministers did not accept office in the majority provinces until they were assured by the Viceroy that the governors would not use their special powers in day to day administration. The Muslim League fared very badly in the elections. It could not secure a majority in the legislature even in provinces where Muslims were in majority. But still the League demanded that the Congress should admit its representatives in all provincial legislatures as the Congress Muslims could not represent the Muslim community. The Congress was unyielding and Jinnah grew very angry with the Congress leaders. From then on he

vigorously put forward his two nation theory and organized the Muslims for direct action. During the brief time of their office the Congress ministries succeeded in maintaining law and order and put through much favourable social and economic legislation.

The Second World War broke out in September 1939 when Lord Linlithgow was the Viceroy of India. The Viceroy dragged India into the war without explaining to the Indian leaders the war aims and the implications of his action. He was constitutionally correct no doubt, but when the Congress Committee found that India was denied the privilege of consultation which had been extended to other dominions. It, therefore, refused its cooperation in the war conducted on imperialistic lines. The Congress called upon the British Government to state whether the war meant freedom for India. There was no favourable response from the British Government and so the Working Committee asked the Congress Government to resign and seven provinces passed under the Governor's rule. In 1940 the Congress offered cooperation in the war effort if its political demand was accepted. Earlier the same year the Muslim League resolved at Lucknow that India should be divided into two states, one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims. The Hindu Maha Sabha under M.S. Aney condemned the two nation theory and demanded dominion status and Hindu predominance in the defence force. The Viceroy proposed to Indianize the executive council and set up an advisory council including representatives of the states, but the Congress rejected this offer. The Hindu Maha Sabha and the Muslim League accepted it in principle, but each wanted more places and guarantees which were not in the power of the Viceroy to give.

Now Gandhi resumed the leadership of the Congress. He chose 1,500 men to carry on the new movement of individual as contrasted with mass civil disobedience. The government strictly forbade the publication of news relating to this move. The first man to court arrest was Vinoba Bhave. Premiers and fifteen ex-ministers found themselves in jail before December. Nehru was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment for his speeches to peasants of U.P. Many other leaders were swept into prison at the most critical period of the history of the country. The war effort was seriously affected. The finance bill was rejected by the Assembly

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but the Viceroy certified it. Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared from his residence while on parole in January 1941. It was reported that he was organizing a Provisional Azad Hind Government and Indian National Assembly for the liberation of India with the Japanese aid. There was a clause of the Atlantic Charter relating to war aims stating that "they respect the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". Indian leaders considered that this clause applied to India also. But Churchill, the Premier of England, maintained that it related only to the countries overrun by Hitler. Through the influence of the Indian press and the Viceroy's council the satyagrahis including Azad were released. Churchill was against enlisting cooperation of the Congress in any manner. Much to the chagrin of Churchill, Chiang kai Shek and his wife visited India in February 1942 to discuss supply routes and defence of Burma. They took the opportunity to persuade Indian leaders to join actively in the war effort.

On 8 March, the Japanese Army entered Rangoon. It became necessary to the Viceroy to break the political deadlock in India. A British Mission headed by Sir Stafford Cripps (member of the War Cabinet) came to India. Cripps was a friend of Nehru and Congress and this was enough for Jinnah to suspect Cripps. The Cripps plan offered dominion status, but the constitution making body for all India including states should be set up. The constitution making body had two conditions to fulfil: (1) the provinces not acquiescing in the new constitution would be free to have their own constitution; (2) undertaking to be given to the British Government that the interest of the racial and religious minorities would be duly protected. It was impossible for any constitution-making body to satisfy these two conditions. The British Government's policy was very clear. The problem of minority was to hang permanently as a millstone round the neck of India. The Cripps plan was not acceptable to the Congress. The Muslim League was glad that the principle of Pakistan was accepted. But Jinnah insisted on an unequivocal recognition of Pakistan as a pre-condition for considering the Cripps proposals.

The people were disappointed. The Congress Executive's

“Quit India” resolution adopted in Bombay on 8 August, 1942 was a natural reaction. This resulted in the arrest of prominent leaders including Nehru. The mass movement gathered formidable strength. The government could bring it under control only after employing what Gandhi called “leonine violence”. In order to focus world attention on India, Mahatma Gandhi went on a fast for twenty-one days from 10 February, 1943. Gandhi’s disciple Miss Slade, known in India as Mira Ben, said at the end of the fast: “God spared India the sorrow and England the shame.”

Linlithgow, the Viceroy, laid down his office in October 1942, leaving India more divided than it had been before his arrival. It was during his regime that Bengal experienced a famine which claimed one and a half million human lives. Wavell succeeded Linlithgow. He was convinced of the need to secure the cooperation of the Congress. But pressure from the Home Government prevented him from negotiating with Gandhi. The virtual exile of the Congress between the years 1942 and 1945 led to a tremendous growth in the strength of the Muslim League. Jinnah was uncompromising in his attitude. On 14 June, 1945, Amery, the Secretary of State announced that the Viceroy’s Executive Council would be reconstituted and that appointments to it would be made giving equal representation to Muslims and caste Hindus. But the proposals were full of snags and limitations. Jinnah insisted that all the Muslim members of the proposed council should be chosen by the Muslim League. This was regarded as an untenable claim, and Wavell, the Viceroy, could go no further with the proposals.

After the Second World War things moved rapidly. In Britain in the last week of May 1945 a general election was held. The Labour Party came to power, and Attlee became the Premier of England. Wavell was authorized to announce on 19 September that steps would be taken for the ‘realization of full self-government in India’. In proof of its good faith all the members of the Working Committee were released. Elections were held in January 1946. The Congress did well and the Muslim League also came off with flying colours. It was impossible for any non-League candidate to secure a platform. Jinnah was jubilant.

It was India’s great good fortune that the Labour Government was very sympathetic towards Indian nationalists’ anxiety to settle



the political question. A Cabinet Mission consisting of the Secretary of State Lord Pethick Lawrence, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps and the first Lord of Admiralty, A.V. Alexander, arrived in India in March 1946. The British scheme attempted at the impossible task of bridging the gulf between the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League. It envisaged a Union of India with the British Indian Provinces and the Princely States as its constituent parts, and there were proposals for the reorganization of the provinces. The proposals were not acceptable to Nehru. Jinnah accepted them with mental reservation for he saw the "germs" of Pakistan in them. There is no use trying to apportion blame between the Congress and the League, for they did not survive, for no fault of the members of the Cabinet Mission. The Mission left the country on 29 June, 1946. Jinnah wanted his party to be invited to join the Viceroy's Executive Council as he had accepted the Cabinet Mission's plan. But Labour Government thought it unjust and risky to let the Muslim Leaguers in when the Congress stood out. Jinnah's pride was deeply hurt when a few weeks later the Congress was allowed to join the provisional government. Thereupon Jinnah stirred the Muslims to resort to "direct action" to attain Pakistan, "to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated caste-Hindu domination". Thus the disciple of that prince of moderation, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, bade goodbye to constitutional methods and began the "Battle for Pakistan", (16 August). We have no place here, for the atrocities committed against the helpless Hindu population in Bengal, particularly in Calcutta. General Tucker, an eye-witness, wrote: "...it was unbridled savagery with homicidal maniacs let loose to kill and to maim and burn. The underworld of Calcutta was taking charge of the city." There were reprisals against the Muslims in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Mahatma Gandhi did his best to bring about a peaceful atmosphere.

Nehru and his colleagues joined the Viceroy's Executive Council on 2 September 1946 at a time when the Muslim League was threatening civil war. We may say that self-government in India began with the formation of the interim government. Jinnah soon realized his error in not joining the provisional government. He therefore sent his men to adopt obstruction tactics.

## *Independence and Partition*

EFFECTIVE power had been transferred to Indian hands when the interim government was formed in 1946. The entry of the Muslim League representatives into the interim government brought about complete disunity of that government, depriving it of all moral authority. Hindu-Muslim tension was aggravated throughout the country. The Congress was not for partition, and the Muslim League was against the unitary Government. There was a stalemate that continued for some time. Attlee's government on 20 February 1947 made it clear that India must govern herself by June 1948 whether there was any agreement as to the form of the constitution or not. The position changed when Hindus and Muslims came to know that the British Government was determined to end its responsibility for India. The Congress and the Muslim League engaged themselves in finding a solution to the political problem. At this stage Lord Mountbatten succeeded Lord Wavel

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as Governor General. He was a man who could tackle the problem, for he had a fondness for rapid action.

Gandhi's attempt to win over Jinnah for a unitary government failed. The League was determined to have India divided, and nothing could be done to resist this determination. It is said that if Rajaji's suggestion to agree to the partition had been accepted the massacres that followed the decision for partition could have been avoided. But Jinnah's attitude stiffened with every conciliatory move of the Congress. While the claim of the Congress to represent the entire nation was challenged, the Muslim League's contention that it represented the entire Muslim population of India was accepted. Mountbatten had no choice except to divide India, and within three months of taking office he recommended complete self-government accompanied by the partition of India with effect from 15 August 1947. The British Government accepted this recommendation and in fulfilment of British intention to grant self-government to India the Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act. This Act conferred on India full independence. It provided in principle the partition of India subject to local ratification. It ended the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States so that the princes were free to decide their own future. The states could either be independent or accede to India or Pakistan. The question was the division of territories between India and the newly formed Pakistan. Jinnah made impossible proposals such as the inclusion of the whole of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab in Pakistan. He even demanded an eight hundred miles corridor between East and West Pakistan, but nobody took him seriously. The problem of the division of territories between Pakistan and India in the Punjab and Bengal was a knotty one. In the Punjab terrible massacres of the minorities were going on. Penderal Moon says that the Muslim mobs "suddenly as though on a preconcerted signal came out in their true colours and with weapons in their hands and in some places, steel helmets on their heads, indulged in murder, loot and arson on a scale never witnessed before in the Punjab during a hundred years of British Rule".

British statesmen's pronouncements implied that India could get self-government on four conditions: that a new government must

be based on agreement between Indian parties; that India must remain within the Commonwealth; that India must remain one and undivided; and that minorities must be protected. The announcement of the British Government rejected all these conditions. India was partitioned. Imposed safeguards for minorities were considered incompatible with self-government. India was free to leave or remain in the Commonwealth. Indian Independence Bill was passed without division in the Parliament; on 18 July it obtained the Royal assent. Attlee described the Act "as not the abdication, but the fulfilment of Britain's mission in India, a sign of the strength and stability of the British Commonwealth". It was decided that India's Independence should be declared on 15 August with the seceding areas assuming similar status on the preceding day calling themselves Pakistan. At midnight on 15 August 1947 the Constituent Assembly declared India to be independent amidst scenes of emotions..

We are yet too near the situation to give the exact causes of the withdrawal of Britain from India. It was no doubt, as Attlee put it, the fulfilment of Britain's mission in India. It became increasingly clear to the British authorities that it was not possible to hold India without embittering the feelings of all sections of the Indian community. The attitude of the military, navy and the police was definitely nationalistic. The trials of the soldiers of the Indian National Army formed by Subhash Chandra Bose were resented by the people. There were signs of rebellion in the navy. The civil services too were very much affected by nationalistic feelings. We are reliably informed by some respectable Indians, who returned to India from England during the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, that British soldiers who had had first-hand knowledge of the poverty of the Indian masses spoke about it feelingly to their friends and relatives. This knowledge filtered down to the people, generating a feeling that perhaps with independence the Indians might improve their economic condition. In that case the unanimous support of the Parliament to the Indian Independence Bill may well be regarded as having mirrored the desire of a discerning section of the British public to see India free. More than all it was a fortunate circumstance that the Labour Party was in power and Attlee, a sincere

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friend of India, was the Premier of England.

Three things had to be done before the transfer of power. The first was the partition of territory. A Boundary Commission was appointed to make the demarcation, both in the Punjab and in Bengal. This was presided over by Sir Radcliffe, who was ably assisted by V.P. Menon. The next was the division of the apparatus and personnel of civil government. Then came the division of military assets and formation. India and Pakistan loyally accepted the Boundary Commission's award. A part of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North Western Frontier Province formed West Pakistan and East Bengal became East Pakistan. The other British territories became India, with the states having the freedom to join either India or Pakistan.

It is not necessary for us to follow the complicated details of the division of assets and liabilities of India and Pakistan. Muslim civil servants in India and non-Muslim civil servants in Pakistan were given the option to choose India or Pakistan. This affected not only transfer of senior officers, but those of all grades. In the Railway department alone 16,000 employees a considerable number of whom were technicians asked for transfer from India to Pakistan. The police force in Delhi was greatly depleted because of the transfer of Muslim members of the service to Pakistan. Those that came to India from Pakistan were all men of the civil and administrative services. It needed Gandhi's personal intervention for a settlement of the division of cash balances as well as allocation of public debts. A Joint Defence Council, with Auchinleck as Supreme Commander under Mountbatten, was established. This Council performed the delicate task of dividing the armed forces and their plant and machinery, equipment and stores between India and Pakistan. The functions of the Supreme Commander were to end on 1st April 1948.

After 15 August, 1947 violence on a scale unknown previously in the history of India broke out in the Punjab and Bengal. Gandhi moved about in Bengal to restore peace and order. It is difficult to say who began the orgy in the Punjab, the Muslims or the Sikhs. The Governor of the Punjab assured Jinnah that he had done his best to clear West Punjab of the Sikhs and the Hindus. Muslims and Sikhs roamed the country committing unbelievable outrages.

District officers were powerless and the Boundary Force was unable to fulfil its functions, for the soldiers refused to fire on their co-religionists and it was disbanded later. Nearly forty per cent of the entire Sikh Community were rendered poor and homeless owing to the partition of the Punjab. Large populations were uprooted from their ancestral homes; their women were abducted and submitted to unspeakable indignities; men and women and children were butchered in cold blood. Many groups of refugees were attacked on the road and put to death. Refugee trains were derailed and their passengers murdered. The Governments of India and Pakistan were helpless to restore confidence and prevent great movements of population. They addressed themselves vigorously to the task of feeding and protecting the terror-stricken refugees. We have no place here for the story of the operation of the Joint Military Evacuation Organization. In forty-two days (18 September to 29 October) twenty-four non-Muslim foot columns, 849,000 strong with hundreds of bullock carts and head of cattle, had crossed the Pakistan border into India. Between 27 August and 6 November 1947 the Railways carried 2,300,000 refugees inward or outward across the Indian frontier. In India the refugees swelled the unhappy ranks of the unemployed and made the food problem more acute than ever it had been before.

Gandhiji very much lamented the situation that compelled such mass migration. He addressed himself to the task of promoting reconciliation between the Hindus and Muslims with his characteristic thoroughness. He pleaded in his prayer meetings in Delhi specially for the Muslim minorities in India. This seemed incongruous, when mob fury in West Pakistan was almost unchecked. The behaviour of a certain section of Muslims in Delhi, towards the displaced persons from Pakistan weakened the hands of the Mahatma to pacify the distressed refugees. With a firm resolve, he continued to preach his message of peace, love and tolerance. On 12 January 1948, he undertook a fast on behalf of the Muslims in India against Hindus and Sikhs. Mahatma Gandhi's outspoken love and friendliness towards the Muslims in India cost him his life. On 30 January 1948, he was shot dead by a fanatic Hindu. People everywhere in the world mourned India's loss, and said that it was impossible to see the like of him anywhere in the world again.

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Gandhi's martyrdom did not solve the problem of refugees. By the middle of 1948 about five and a half million non-Muslims moved into India from West Pakistan. About the same number of Muslims left India for Pakistan. According to the estimation of the Government of India, non-Muslims left behind them property worth Rs. 500 crores in West Pakistan. The Muslim loss in India is put at Rs. 100 crores. It took a long time to settle claims of compensation between the two countries. The re-settlement of the refugees has been a hard task for the Government of India.

## *Integration and Reorganization of States*

A DIFFICULT and delicate problem that faced India at the time of transfer of power related to the future of native states. There were 552 states, large and small, covering an area of nearly 716 thousand square miles. The attitude of the princes towards the new Union of India was one of unconcealed hostility. These states contained nearly a population of ninety-three million. They did not form a solid geographical block but were scattered all over India. The British refused to transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government and the states could have remained separate kingdoms if it had been possible. As Coupland says: "an India deprived of the states would have lost all coherence. For they formed a gray cruciform barrier separating all four quarters of the country... India would live if its Muslim links in the North West and North East were amputated, but could it live without its heartbeat." The continued existence of these states had served no useful purpose except to meet



the imperial necessity of Britain in India. The best solution to the states' problem lay in their total dissolution. But the majority of the princes excepting a few like the Maharaja of Baroda proclaimed their determination to fight the Congress to preserve their independence. The task of integration of the states with the Union of India fell on the shoulders of Sardar Vallabh bhai Patel, who was member of the interim government in charge of the states department. It was hoped that the task would be completed before the date of actual transfer of power, i.e. 15 August 1947, and Patel had hardly a month before him. Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore whom Montagu describes as "one of the cleverest men I have ever met in my life", said that his state was an independent entity and would be free to deal with any government in the world.

At that time there was a loose talk that the Southern States of Travancore, Mysore and Hyderabad might form a federation independent of the Union of India. The Nizam of Hyderabad who held the key to the situation was too vacillating for the concretization of any such proposal and Patel was relentless in the exercise of his pressure on the princes. Fortunately for India, the idea of separation of the princes remained a figment of imagination. To make a long story short, all the states within the geographical limits of India acceded to the Indian Union, only Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh held out. Some historians level two charges against Patel's policy of integration of states: one is that "many states were dragooned into accession" by him and the other is that the drive for the popular movements in the states to attain that measure of freedom that the British provinces in India had been enjoying came not from the people themselves, but from New Delhi. Even such critics grant that "the states had become an anachronism and that it was desirable that an independent India should sweep them away". Indeed the British Government should have abolished them before transfer of power. But they did not, with the result that the three states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir raised a crop of troubles. Kashmir still continues to be a source of friction between India and Pakistan.

To the Maharaja of Baroda should be given credit for the patriotism with which he voluntarily surrendered his rights and privileges to the Indian Union, setting an example to the other large

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states. Jinnah's explicit statement (17 June 1947) that it was open to the states "to join the Indian constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or to decide to remain independent" was really subversive of the very existence of India.

The Nawab of Junagadh was an inefficient ruler excessively addicted to dogs and wives. The state was not contiguous to Pakistan which could be approached only through the sea. Hindus formed the majority of the population of the state. The Nawab yielded to Jinnah's exhortation that he should 'keep out' of the Indian union "under any circumstances until 15 August." Jinnah promised to the Nawab enough Pakistan Reserve Police to help him rid the state of the Hindu majority. The aggressive designs of the Nawab and his mentors went awry because of the vigilance and timely action of Patel. The Nawab sought asylum in Karachi. Junagadh and its two feudatories were merged into the Indian Union as a result of the referendum held in February 1948.

At first the Indian Government was generous to the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Usman Ali Khan, who had been pampered by the British Government with the conferment of the title of His Exalted Highness in 1918. He believed that he was distinct from the other members of the princely order and put forward claims to independent sovereignty so that it became necessary for Lord Reading, the Viceroy, to cure him of his obsession by administering a snub in 1928. It was suggested to the Nizam that he might accede to the Indian Union Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, subjects over which he had no control during the British rule. He not only refused, but insisted that he should be treated on an equal footing with the Union Government in the course of negotiations. Patel was willing to flatter the Nizam to some extent but the latter put forward fantastic claims of sovereignty, depending on his militant Razakars and the support of the Muslims of India and Pakistan. The Nizam kept his state in near war conditions. Jinnah, ignoring international proprieties, declared (1 June 1948) that the Nizam's dominion was an "Independent state and that not only the Muslims of Pakistan but the Muslims all the world over fully sympathize with Hyderabad in its struggle".

Patel found that negotiations were of no avail and that military action alone could solve the problem. On 13 September

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1948, the Indian troops marched into Hyderabad under the Command of Major-General Chaudhary. The Nizam to his dismay found that all his preparations for war were of no use. The Razakars and their fanatic leader Razvi ran for their lives. The Nizam realized that submission was the better part of valour. On 17 September after about 108 hours of military operation Hyderabad whose existence for seven generations owed mainly to the British protection, acceded to the Indian Union. "Shorn of all powers and privilege, disillusioned and growing more and more decrepit, the Nizam lives on clinging desperately to his uncounted hoards." Britain's sympathy with the Nizam should be understood in the context of sentiments arising out of Hyderabad's long standing association with the British power. Percival Griffiths somewhat mournfully observes: "Whether India was justified or not in the action she finally took is a matter about which historians may well argue for generations to come, but the practical man is bound to consider that the inclusion of Hyderabad in India was the only satisfactory conclusion possible."

Kashmir has a proud history of its own from the Vedic age. It is strategically situated. At the time of partition it had a Hindu Maharaja ruling over people the majority of whom were Muslims. Mountbatten when he was the Governor-general of India, at the request of Indian leaders assured Pakistan that India had no intention of forcing the Maharaja to accede to the Indian Union. But in the autumn of 1947 tribesmen from Pakistan territory with the connivance of the Pakistan government invaded Kashmir and precipitated matters. The Maharaja had been hesitating to accede either to India or Pakistan, for in each event there were formidable risks. Alarmed at the approach of the invaders towards the capital Srinagar, the Maharaja sent word to New Delhi that he would accede to India. Thereupon Indian troops were flown in to defend Kashmir against both the tribesmen and the Pakistan army which had entered the state. Pakistan refused to regard the accession of Kashmir to India as a settled fact and continued to fight. India took the case to the Security Council of the United Nations. The claims and counter claims of both the countries have been periodically reviewed at the Security Council but no decision has so far been arrived at. On January 1949 the U.N. Commission arranged

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for a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. India holds two-thirds of Kashmir and demands restoration of the rest now under illegal occupation of Pakistan.

Patel, a man of indomitable will, high courage, swift and sane decision for action carried through the threefold process, assimilation, centralization and unification of the states. Small states numbering 216 were merged with the neighbouring provinces. A certain number of principalities such as Bhopal, Kutch and Manipur were constituted into centrally administered areas. The other states, large and small, were formed into six groups, namely, Saurashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Patiala and East Punjab, Travancore-Cochin and Vindhya Pradesh. Each group was to have at its head a *Rajapramukh* who was to be elected by the council of rulers from amongst the former rulers of the states. It is not necessary to get into the complicated details of the financial integration of the states nor the extent of the privy purse given to each prince. It was soon found that the presence of *Rajapramukhs* was incompatible with Indian democracy and in the course of the reorganization of states on linguistic basis the states under *Rajapramukhs* were split up and distributed among the contiguous states.

The Union of India still remained incomplete owing to the existence of the French and Portuguese enclaves. The French Government took a realistic view and ceded Pondicherry, Karaikal, Chandranagore and Mahe to the Indian Union. But the Portuguese were adamant in their attitude towards the Indian Union. They said that as Goa was a part of the metropolitan territories of Portugal they were not affected by the British and French withdrawal from India. The Portuguese authorities started ill-treating their subjects because they favoured a move to join the Indian Union. They would listen to no reason. At last Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, lost his patience. The Indian army marched into Goa to set things right. The Portuguese were driven out of Goa. Western peoples disapproved of India's use of force against their declared policy of non-violence. Both the Asian and African countries welcomed the Indian action as a blow against colonialism.

The formation of linguistic provinces was also looked upon as a dangerous source of disintegration. But the Congress stood committed to it. Political leaders, particularly in Andhra, clamoured

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for the formation of linguistic states. A committee consisting of Nehru, Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya was appointed to consider the question. The committee frankly owned that "when the Congress had given the seal of its approval to the general principle of linguistic provinces, it was not faced with the practical application of the principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that arose from the practical application". Nehru set his face against formation of linguistic provinces for fear that it might lead to the development of fissiparous tendencies. He would have postponed the problem indefinitely if the Communists had not exploited the Telugu demand for an Andhra state in the elections of 1952. Potti Sriramalu went on a fast unto death in support of the Andhra demand. The agitation was so intense that Nehru had to agree to the formation of the Andhra State (1953). This inevitably led to the question of state boundaries and the States Reorganization Commission was appointed, and its recommendations led to linguistic states, with the exception that Maharashtra and Gujarat still continued as one state (1956). Over the separation of Bombay state into Gujarati and Maharashtrian areas, feelings rose high, leading to riots in Bombay and Ahmedabad. After two years of intense Gujarat agitation the new State of Bombay was partitioned. From May 1960 a separate state of Gujarat with Ahmedabad as its capital came into existence. Bombay city remained the capital of Maharashtra.

The Sikhs demanded a separate state for themselves but this was not considered favourably because no clear cut distinction between Punjabi and Hindi could be made out. PEPSU was merged with West Punjab and Himachal Pradesh came under Central Administration. In August 1961 Master Tara Singh began a fast unto death for the creation of a Sikh state but was persuaded to abandon it in October. In June 1966 the West Punjab was split into two states; the Punjabi speaking areas forming in one Sikh State and the Hindi speaking areas the other. There were protracted and complicated discussions regarding the reorganization of states. The ultimate result is that India now consists of seventeen states besides the union territories. Nehru was completely indifferent to local as distinct from Indian patriotism. To him states reorga-

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nization was mainly a matter of administrative detail. But unfortunately his view has not been accepted by large sections of the public in India so that questions of state boundaries, division of river waters, and merger of territories like Goa continue to give trouble.

*The Constitution of India*

THE Constitution of India was framed in circumstances that differed from those that obtained when the American and the Canadian constitutions were framed. The U.S.A. evolved out of a number of independent states that had been unconnected with one another except through their common subordination to the British Crown. The states rebelled against British authority, and won the War of Independence, by forming a loose federation among themselves. The constitution had necessarily to limit the authority of the federal centre, for the states insisted on retaining for themselves all powers not specifically transferred to the Union. The Canadian federation grew up according to Keith under the shadow of the great conflict between North and South in America. After a period of unsatisfactory unitary government, Canada adopted a federation, avoiding the American error of leaving the power to the states undefined. Canada has a strong central government with which

residuary powers rest. The federation of the colonies in Australia arose not out of any necessity but for convenience. There the federal government was therefore given only those powers that were deliberately surrendered by the states. None of these conditions existed in India in 1947. From 15 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a full sovereign body. This Assembly was free to frame any type of constitution without consulting any outside authorities. There were, of course, provincial rivalries, but in the first flush of pride of independence all petty differences were forgotten. The Constituent Assembly consisted of the pick of the nation. It is not possible to mention the names of all those illustrious men. But Dr. Ambedkar and Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer must be mentioned for their great services in framing the constitution of India. The members of the Constituent Assembly were most of them lawyers of international reputation, well-versed in constitutional law. The situation in 1947 was different from what it had been in December 1946, when the Constituent Assembly came into existence. After partition there was no necessity for limiting the powers of the central government. The historic objective resolutions moved by Nehru stated that the territories comprising British India and the acceding states "shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government... except such powers as are vested... in the Union".

The framers of the Constitution of India drew liberally from many sources. The Government of India Act of 1935 provided the framework. The directive principles of the Indian Constitution were evolved on the model of those in the Constitution of Eire. The idea of the fundamental rights was inspired by the Constitution of the U.S.A. The section of the Constitution dealing with the federation shows the influence of the Canadian pattern. Above all the Indian Constitution drew heavily from English principles and concepts, with which the framers were thoroughly acquainted.

It is impossible to analyse here in any satisfactory manner the Constitution of India containing 396 articles and numerous schedules. But we may in a broad manner say that it has to be read, interpreted and understood not merely in terms of its own express texts but also in terms of the unwritten conventions as ex-



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pounded in English constitutional law. The constitution may not be quite perfect, but it has all the essentials necessary for making the fundamental law of the land extremely sound. This constitution is proudly regarded as the Charter of India's freedom. The new Constitution was enacted on 26 November 1949 and inaugurated with due solemnity on 26 January 1950, a day which has become memorable in the Country's constitutional history as the Republic Day. One main characteristic feature of the constitution is that it has preserved the unity of India which may be regarded as a British heritage. Consistent with the needs of a developing country, where there are wide variations in social and economic conditions of the people, the constitution gives all residuary powers to the central government. The Preamble to the Constitution represents the sincere aspirations of the noble framers, and reads thus :

**"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, Having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:**

**JUSTICE, social, economic and political;**

**LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;**

**EQUALITY of status and opportunity; and promote among them all;**

**FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of the Nation;**

**IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty sixth day of November 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION."**

This Preamble assures to all alike justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. The primacy given to justice should be noted. This does not find a place in the revolutionary slogans of France. It is in consonance with the ancient spirit of India, according to which the maintenance of *Dharma* is the supreme duty of the state. This concept of *Dharma* has of course been transformed into the Rule of Law to ensure social and political justice, necessitated by the composite character of the Indian population.

There is a whole chapter on fundamental rights in the constitution. Its place in the constitution is questioned by some. The directive

principles of State policy are regarded merely as a revised edition of the Congress Party's manifesto. There are some who maintain that Article 19 envisaging limitation on the enjoyment of certain freedoms by the citizens constitutes the negation of the very principles underlying the exercise of fundamental rights.

Certain differences between the Indian Parliamentary system and that of the British may be pointed out here. The minister in the Indian Parliament can go to either house, and take part in the discussion, but his vote is confined to the house to which he has been elected. But no British minister belonging to the House of Lords can go to the House of Commons for similar purpose. The Attorney General in India is appointed by the President of India; he renders legal advice to government, untrammelled by personal and party consideration, whereas the Attorney General in Britain is a member of the cabinet conscious of the fact that he owes his position to the party in power. The Election Commission in India is an independent body which can be fair, free and impartial, because it is not a creature of the parliament or the executive. The three general elections in India based on adult franchise have clearly shown the soundness of the Indian arrangement for election. In Britain the responsibility for holding the election rests with the Parliament. But it must be observed that the British sense of fair play is never more strongly evident than in an election. In India the Parliament is not supreme in the sense in which it is in the United Kingdom. The judiciary here can pronounce invalid any act of Parliament that offends the Constitution. For example, the Parliament is debarred from enacting legislation to compel a person to give evidence against himself or to allow a child under fourteen to work in a factory or mine, or to appropriate revenue to the propagation of any particular religion. In the United Kingdom, Parliament could, if it chose, do all these things.

The predominance of the centre is assured in three ways. First the legislative powers of the centre and the state are enumerated in the federal, concurrent, and states lists. It is specifically stated that residuary powers reside in the union. The federal government has wide powers of intervening in state's matters and in some circumstances of assuming the entire functions of any or all the state governments. Such actions have, however, to be approved

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by the Parliament within a limited time. Secondly, defence, international relations, ports, railways and currency are the prerogative of the centre alone. In the case of ports and aerodromes the central government can modify or supercede legislation, whether enacted by the centre or the states. The states, however, possess considerable powers over agriculture, education, law and order, etc. The states have sometimes asserted their rights in subjects in their charge; for example, in 1954 they resisted the attempts of the central finance minister to bring about some uniformity in the administration of states' sales taxes. In spite of the advice of the central government against prohibition, some states are following the policy of prohibition. Where the state government expects financial assistance from the centre it has necessarily to be more pliable than it would wish. Percival Griffiths observes: "In reality the relations between the states and the centre, depend more on politics and personalities than on legal definition and some observers doubt whether the ascendancy of the centre will be maintained, when Nehru ceases to be the Prime Minister." After Nehru, although the states have shown greater freedom in their expression of opinion regarding their relations with the centre, the relationship between the two has so far been smooth and cordial. Perhaps it is too early to come to a decision on the matter.

In India the judiciary has a right to overrule parliamentary authority. The judges of the supreme and high courts in India have courageously maintained their independence. The fundamental rights in the constitution are enforceable by law, while the directive principles cannot be so enforced. Certain conflicts have arisen between the approach of the fundamental rights and that of the directive principles. The Madras Government in its attempt to improve the position of the backward classes reserved seats for them in certain educational institutions. The supreme court held that this amounted to discrimination and was therefore unconstitutional. But the Government of India felt that the action to uplift the backward sections of the community could not be against the spirit of the constitution. Therefore, the government secured an addition to Article 15, specifically permitting the state to make special provision for the advancement of the backward classes. Articles relating to the freedom of the press have also been amended,

in consonance with the view of the central government. This has aroused bitter controversy. One of the most important safeguards of the constitution was embodied in Article 31; this lays down that a law providing for compulsory acquisition of property must fix the amount of compensation, or specify the principles on which the property is sought to be acquired. The Congress Government in pursuance of its policy of the abolition of the zamindars and landlords passed laws in the state legislatures for the State acquisition of property. In Bihar, the Patna High Court held that the Act concerned was unconstitutional in as much as it involved, discrimination between one class and another. The constitution had therefore to be amended to enable the government to implement their policy of agrarian reform. This fourth amendment of the Constitution barred the courts from examining the adequacy of the compensation specified in any law for the acquisition of the property and in some important cases relieved the state of the constitutional obligation to pay compensation for the acquisition of rights or property. Nehru's policy of attaching greater importance to directive principles than to constitutional safeguards was viewed with deep concern by the people of India. To some extent it shook the confidence of the world at large.

It may be observed that for the past 150 years there have been only ten amendments to the Constitution of the U.S.A., whereas the Indian Constitution has already been amended more than fifteen times. There is pressure brought to bear on the government for amending the clause of the constitution relating to the use of Hindi as official language. A commission was appointed to study and report on the question of replacing of English by Hindi. Their report is noncommittal, for they expressed no view as to when Hindi should replace English as official language. But Nehru made statesmanlike pronouncement that English would continue as "an associate additional language as long as the people required and there would be no imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people". The Shastri government adhered to this.

The establishment of Planning Commission to formulate Five Year Plans, and Indian National Development Council consisting of the chief ministers of the states among others, tended to increase the power of the Central authority. All these subjects are enumerated

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in the union list besides such unshared powers. The centre has concurrent jurisdiction over a number of other subjects. Where there is a difference of opinion between the centre and the state, the law requires that the Centre's will should prevail.

The greatest merit of the Indian Constitution consists in the fact that it is an Indian statute although it has borrowed some elements from other constitutions. The vision and boldness of the founding fathers of the constitution may be seen from the abolition of the electoral system of communal representation and the preservation of the secularity of the state.

## *Nehru's Domestic Policy and Party Politics*

IN British India direct chain of authority descended from the King Emperor, through the Viceroy and Provincial Governor to the District Officer, and the British Parliament had the supreme control over the government and its machinery. All these changed with independence. After independence till the first general election in 1951-52 power was vested in the Cabinet. Jawaharlal Nehru, admittedly the most powerful political figure in India, was the Prime Minister. Western writers, while conceding that the scheme of responsible government through the ministers is quite well understood by the educated middle class in India, doubt if the cultivator can easily understand it. We have already indicated that entrusting responsibility to selected or elected representatives has long been known to India. Elections to the district board and municipalities had already familiarized the peasant with independent India's form of government. Hence, it may be said that

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free India had a tradition of responsible government in a measure which no other country in Asia could claim at the time of independence.

Lord Mountbatten who had played a major part in bringing about transfer of power agreed to remain as the first Governor General of independent India till June 1948. Mountbatten was really admired and trusted by Nehru and his colleagues in Cabinet. He was loved by the people as the connecting link between Britain and free India. He took a leading part in trying to compose the growing differences between India and Pakistan. By his innate nobility and his enthusiasm for right causes, this scion of royal lineage has won an abiding place in the history of free India. Lady Mountbatten was really a sister of mercy in the unhappy days of partition and her death in February 1960 was deeply mourned in India.

The man to decide the future of the country was Jawaharlal Nehru. His biography has to be read elsewhere. The sacrifices of the Nehru family for the cause of India's freedom endeared Jawaharlal to the people of India. He was born of a very rich Kashmiri Brahmin family and was educated at Harrow and Cambridge in England. He was the very embodiment of a wholesome combination of the best in India and in England. Right through his life there was a conflict in him between his loyalty to the spiritual ideals of India and his love for the dazzling material progress of the West. Like Gandhi, Nehru had a certain enigmatic quality defying the analysis even of the most careful observer. By temperament he was at once a democrat and a dictator. Everyone who knew him realized his greatness and singleness of purpose. He had a genuine desire for the welfare of the masses and very much enjoyed the presence of ordinary folk. Indeed he drew spiritual refreshment through contact with the crowd. Like a magnet he drew unimaginably large crowds wherever he went. By his deep scholarship and extensive travels he had acquired a rare insight into human nature. No wonder that he was the idol of the nation. He was second to none in the world in democratic leadership. No one in recent history had continuously held the premier-ship of a democratic country for seventeen years as Nehru did. It cannot, however, be said that he had the unanimous support

of the intelligentsia in all the details of his domestic and foreign policy. When in 1956 he did not express the indignation of the Indian public at Russia's behaviour in Hungary, he was subjected to severe criticism. Again in 1959 when China made deep incursions into Ladakh his reluctance to condemn China raised a storm in the Lok Sabha. Discerning people in India felt that he had been duped by China. While his brilliant intellect and sincerity of purpose were greatly admired, his lack of grit as an administrator was deplored. Even as a party chief he was not as efficient as people wished him to be. Nevertheless, his personality was power, and his very frailties won for him the love and regard of the common people. There is no gainsaying the fact that progressive India owes a great deal to Nehru's genius and vision.

The Constitution of India was finalized on 26 November 1949 and the Republic of India was inaugurated with due solemnity on 26 January 1950. At that time India was politically immature, socially backward and economically poor as already indicated. Nehru had to implement the following directives laid down in the Constitution:

The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing

- (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

What was India like in respect of food and clothing after partition? Agriculture, though the most important, was in some ways the least satisfactory branch of the Indian economy. India was unable to feed herself, though she had an irrigated area three times as large as that of the U.S.A. and larger than the combined total of any other ten countries in the world. It must be pointed out that India's ability to feed herself was substantially lessened by partition, for sixty-eight per cent of the irrigated area of undivided



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India went to Pakistan. According to C. N. Vakil, yields of rice and wheat in India were only 750 and 650 lb. respectively as against 900 and 850 lb. in Pakistan. Consequently, India with a proportionately larger population had to experience shortage of food.

The effect of partition on textile industries was equally serious. The jute mills were in India, while nearly eighty per cent of the raw jute was grown in East Pakistan. There was a compelling necessity for India to grow jute in land badly required for food production. Although the number of cotton textile mills was far larger in India than that in Pakistan, the latter had a much larger share of American type of medium-staple cotton. Thus Indian mills were deprived of an important market in West Pakistan where per capita consumption of cloth had been higher than elsewhere in undivided India.

In 1950-51 in India the per capita consumption level of food was 1,800 calories per day and of cloth 9.2 yards per capita per annum, both distressingly low.

At the time of partition India was comparatively well off in the matter of industrial establishment, for during the Second World War she was the base of military supplies for Middle East. She had a considerable number of experienced industrialists and financiers; but even here there was shortage of mechanics owing to the migration of a large number of Muslim mechanics to Pakistan.

The aims of the domestic policy of Nehru were to increase production; to enthuse everyone to contribute his best to increase the national income; and to reduce as far as possible inequalities in the distribution of wealth. His policy contained no doctrinaire approach or a rigid pattern and its key-note was integration of various sections in the community and the removal of disparities and antagonisms.

Till 1951-52, Nehru's Cabinet included experienced statesmen and financial experts who were not members of the Congress. Their contribution to the successful administration of the country was really great. But after the first general elections in 1951-52 the Cabinet was formed on the basis of the party system, so that only Congressmen could find a place in it. In the early years of independence, the officers of the Indian Civil Service carefully adjusted themselves to the changed conditions and did their best to help

maintain law and order and stability of administration. Somehow or other, it was felt that in the democratic set up in the country new cadres should be formed for different branches of administration. These new officers had to handle problems like the management of internal trade, finance, banking, insurance, control of vast industrial concerns and supervision of large welfare projects. Provision was made for recruitment to Indian administrative, railway, police, forest and other similar important services. The work of the Public Service Commissions grew greatly with the need to recruit more and more officers. The new services have grown largely under political control. How far considerations other than merit have weighed in the matter of appointments to high administrative posts is a matter for study. The allegation that the new officers have shown a bias for regionalism has also to be examined before it can be accepted.

The results of the first general elections were quite revealing. It was clearly demonstrated that there was no political organization of an all India character capable of offering an effective challenge to the supremacy of the Congress. The Congress had the advantage of possessing a well-knit countrywide organization with elected officers who had considerable influence over the electorate. So it continued to entrench itself in power. Only a very small section of the community thought seriously over the question of effective opposition to the Congress. Splinter groups such as the Praja Socialists could show in their election manifesto nothing better than the socialist trends in the Congress. Only the Communist Party had the necessary organizational power to challenge the Congress but it miserably failed because its roots lay outside India and its arguments against the Congress were palpably fallacious. Its anti-God policy and its ideas about private property were not acceptable to the people at large. Moreover, its behaviour in the period of the Second World War, first opposing Britain for its imperialism and then supporting her war effort as soon as Russia became an allied power against Germany seemed ridiculous to people. Its thoughtless criticism of the Congress during the struggle for independence were regarded as anti-national. The Congress vigilantly watched the moves of the Communist Party and effectively checked its growth by exposing the dangers of its

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revolutionary campaign. Provincial political organizations such as the Hindu Mahasabha, Ganatantra Parishad, and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam were all militant groups whose policies definitely tended to disrupt the unity of India and promote religious and communal discord, with the result that Congress emerged supreme in the Lok Sabha as also in State Assemblies except in Kerala. It is impossible to analyse the results of the elections in sufficient detail here. It should, however, be noted that the adult franchise led to the awakening of the masses. Rural interests asserted themselves. The state legislatures showed a sizeable bloc of representatives from rural areas. University men, lawyers and other professional groups were not generally favoured by the rural people. The educated middle class came to be less respected than in the days of British rule. The shift to local rural leaders irrespective of academic credentials or political experience was clearly noticeable. This was not an unforeseen tendency in the process of Indian democracy.

'Nehru' became a name to conjure with and local Congress leaders made full use of it. Nehru too carried on a whirlwind election campaign for the Congress. There was some indefinable trait of character in Nehru which made even respectable leaders of the Congress not to say or do anything calculated to displease him. Not that Nehru wanted them to be subservient; he was too much of a democrat to do that. This kind of self-surrender on the part of the Congress leaders led some impartial observers feel that Nehru could, at any moment, turn a dictator, if he chose. So towering was his personality that foreigners interested in India kept asking what would happen to Indian leadership after Nehru.

To give concrete shape to the domestic policy based on the directive in the constitution, quoted earlier, planned development was started in 1951. Since then two Five Year Plans have been completed and we are now near the completion of the Third Five Year Plan. The goals enshrined in the directive principles of the constitution have been spelt out as socialist pattern in the plans. The achievements of the plans will be dealt with later, in the chapter on economic progress. In December 1954 the Parliament adopted the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy. The socialist pattern of society means increa-

sed production, maximum contribution from every one towards national development and fair distribution to all concerned. It also involves the ownership or control by the state of basic industries, cooperative agriculture, and a tax system meant to ensure equitable distribution of wealth.

The Congress Socialist Party came into existence in 1934. Its members were responsible to ensure that the parent organization would develop a radical outlook on social and economic issues. Inspiration for their socialism came from leaders like Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. After attainment of national independence, the socialists as a group seceded from the Congress in 1948. This group could have developed into a second largest political party in the country, if there had been unity among its members. Unfortunately, they spent a great deal of their energy and time in dialectical hair-splitting and failed to win a mass following. Jaya Prakash Narayan who was the leader of the party became an ardent Gandhian after the Mahatma's death. Now he has disavowed politics altogether. Asoka Mehta, the next socialist leader, found that there was a good deal of common ground between the Congress and the socialists. So he accepted the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission of the Government of India. In 1952, the socialists merged with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and formed the Praja Socialist Party. For a brief period it had the leadership of men like Prakasam and Acharya Kripalani. Because the Congress stood for nationalism, secularism and socialism the Praja Socialist Party had nothing better to show to capture the imagination of the people. The party has been languishing for want of both leaders and resources.

The Communist Party of India is the chief single opposition party. This party has been under vigorous attack since the first Chinese invasion in 1959 and especially since the more serious invasion of October 1962. In 1957 the Communist Party succeeded in forming the ministry in Kerala. It became also the chief opposition party in the legislatures of Andhra Pradesh, the Punjab, Madras and West Bengal. The membership of the Communist Party is not large. Its leaders are predominantly university graduates, belonging to the intelligentsia of India. The communists were in power in Kerala for twenty-eight months.

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In this period they provided an instructive glimpse of communist methods. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister, proclaimed that in all industrial and agrarian disputes the police would remain neutral. This gave labour an advantage in dealing with their employers and resulted in an alarming growth of lawlessness in the state, particularly in the plantations. Most of the ministers were above corruption; but the party grew enormously rich at the cost of the State. The Education Bill of the Communist Party aroused wide opposition. This bill required even private schools to choose their teachers from lists prepared by the state. Control over education was increased, and nationalized text books were written with a view to indoctrinating the student population with the subversive doctrine of communism. Those who opposed communist rule in Kerala were obliged to resort to civil disobedience. The Congress which was in opposition managed to bring about an intervention by the central government. Commenting on this K.M. Panikkar observes:

...without a breakdown such intervention would not be justified. So a breakdown had to be brought about. For this purpose organized direct action was resorted to. It was led by the Congress, under the authority of the Party High Command in Delhi, whose leaders continuously visited the State to give guidance to the agitation. That the Party High Command was in close association with the Central Government would hardly be denied. Having thus itself helped to create a political crisis in the State, the Central Government imposed the President's rule on the ground that there had been a breakdown of administration. The breakdown of administration was, if not created, at least promoted by the Central Government in order to enable it to give its intervention a legitimacy. In effect it was a reaffirmation of the doctrine of paramountcy.<sup>1</sup>

Elections were held in 1960 in which the Communists gained a few more seats than before. However, the Congress managed

1. *The Foundations of New India*, p. 240.

to form a coalition ministry with the Praja Socialist Party and the Muslim League. This encouraged the League in its communal activities and the Jana Sangh in the North hotly criticized the Congress.

The Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 under the leadership of the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee. This party claims to stand for "one country, one culture, one nation and *dharma raj*, and rule of law". In its election manifesto of 1961, written before the Indian invasion of Goa, it urged "the complete integration of Kashmir", "opposition to soft pedalling of disputes with Pakistan", and "the use of force to put an end to Portuguese colonial rule on our soil". This manifesto further said that in "proper and quick industrialization, instead of copying Western pattern, we should develop our own technique..." This party emphasises Indian self-sufficiency and urges greater independence of foreign capital and foreign aid. In the last general election this party won eighteen seats in the Lok Sabha, and one hundred and sixteen seats in the local legislatures. It has been putting forward an impatient demand on behalf of Hindi in opposition to English. Its following is mostly confined to the Hindi-speaking regions. In the last elections it fared disastrously in the rest of the country. This shows that its policies and programmes have not been sufficiently popularized.

The Swatantra Party was established in 1959. Its sudden rise is almost entirely due to the commanding influence of its founder C. Rajagopalachari, "a man of razor-like intelligence", according to Nehru. He is an elder statesman in Indian politics and the most devoted adherent of Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of his great age, he has been opposing the Congress without rest and retirement. Writing in *Hindustan Times Independence Day Supplement*, he calls the Congress Ministry corrupt, inefficient and unscrupulous. He stated: "There can be no fair election with the party in office, distributing permits and licenses and holding the power to ruin any man or any business." The opponents of the Swatantra Party often accuse it of being a close ally of big business and dispossessed princes. This party has certainly taken money from the wealthy class, but the Congress too has done the same. Among the leaders of the Swatantra Party are K.M. Munshi, N.G. Ranga

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and M.R. Masani, all men of character, worth and reputation. But this party fared badly in the last election. Nevertheless, there are people who desire that it should grow strong because there is an urgent need for a rival political party that can offer an effective constitutional opposition to the Congress. As Kulkarni observes:..“the strength of the Congress party is not in itself, but in the weakness of its rivals”. The parties ranged against the Congress are many, and they are too divided to function as a single body. Acharya Kripalani brought against Nehru Ministry a ‘no-confidence motion’ in August 1963 in the Lok Sabha. This was defeated by 346 votes to sixty one, the communists choosing to remain neutral. This demonstrates the irremovability of the party in power.

Minor political parties are far too many to be mentioned. The Akali Dal in the Punjab is led by Master Tara Singh. It is a communal party agitating for a separate Sikh state. In Madras the chief opposition party is the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (society for Dravidian uplift). It urged the secession of Dravidian South (Madras, Kerala, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh) from the rest of India. It has some strength in Madras, but the other states have so far given no support to its aims. This party opposes the adoption of Hindi as the official national language. In 1962 election, this party captured fifty-three out of 206 seats in the state legislature. C.N. Annadurai, the leader of the party, demanded secession in parliament in May 1962. Prime Minister Nehru said that the demand was outrageous and that it should be resisted “with all our force”. With the D.M.K. in mind the government drew up a sixteenth amendment to the constitution to permit restriction on freedom of speech and assembly in the interest of the “integrity and sovereignty of India”. Under this amendment the candidates advocating secession would be prohibited from contesting the elections. The D.M.K. has now given up its demand for secession. C. Rajagopalachari’s influence with the D.M.K. is considerable and in any event it is calculated to turn narrow communalism into broad nationalism.

Nehru was determined to make India a secular state, in spite of the pressure brought upon by Hindu communal organizations of the North. The opposition to the secular state came not only

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from the Hindus but from the aggressive Sikh community. Out of India's total population of 360 million in 1951 not less than thirty to thirty-five were Muslims. The Christians numbered seven million. There were also other religious communities. The policy of Nehru's government was to do everything possible to make these religious minorities feel secure in India. Therefore, Nehru was bent on retaining the composite character of India's political structure. It must here be pointed out that it is not derived from European traditions. The doctrine of a single community enjoying political power in the state is really a Christian conception developed in Europe. For a long time after the break with Rome, in England the Catholics were excluded from positions of power. It was little by little that the Catholics came to enjoy political rights with those belonging to the Anglican Church. Even now the British monarch should be of the Anglican Church. The militant Hindus in the North thought that it was possible to make India a Hindu state, and at the same time guarantee rights to the members of the minority communities, but the Indian concept of secular state postulates that political institutions must be based on the economic and social interests of the entire community without reference to religion, race or sect. No group has therefore been allowed any special right or privilege on the basis of religion. All communities therefore have to share the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The fact that Pakistan is an Islamic state, where the Hindu minority is not given equal rights of citizenship with the Muslims, greatly exercised the minds, particularly of the members of the Jana Sangh Party. Well, whatever position Pakistan might give to religious groups other than the Muslims, India sticks to the principles of secular state, giving equal rights for all, irrespective of religion. This is no small achievement of Nehru.

One cardinal principle of Nehru's domestic policy was to maintain and increase the strength of the centre in relation to the states. While there was no unnecessary interference in the internal administration of the state, he took care to see that every state respected the authority of the centre.

Membership of the Congress now means material advantages, the spoils of office, patronage and power. Charges of corruption



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are levelled against the ruling party. It is impossible to say whether there is, in fact, more corruption in India than in other countries. May be that the critic's expectation of honesty in government "is greater than human nature can maintain".

*Foreign Policy*

It must be admitted that in matters of diplomacy India was just a beginner at the time of independence. The British authorities had not employed Indian officials in any worthwhile diplomatic missions. It was, however, fortunate that India's destiny lay in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was not only the Prime Minister but also Minister for Foreign Affairs. By his deep study, frequent and extensive travels and thorough grasp of geopolitics, he was eminently fit for shaping the foreign policy of India. The question often raised is : "Has India a clear cut positive foreign policy ?" It is difficult to answer this question; for, the foreign policy of any nation is basically the pursuit and assurance of fundamental national interests abroad by peaceful means. In a developing country like India, domestic and foreign policies can function only in unison and in a complementary way. The approach to other countries varies with the extent to which they respond to India's

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friendliness and goodwill. India's main aim is to secure in a decade or two the industrial development and economic improvement which took the West more than a century of conflict.

The international situation, at the time when India became independent, was very complex. As a result of the Second World War nine fresh communist regimes had come into existence. China embraced communism. Soon ideological defection of Yugoslavia, China and Albania from Russia came into evidence. These countries refused to toe the Moscow line in toto. The unpredictable nature of the policies of Russia and China caused grave concern to people all the world over, on the issues of peace and freedom. Russian expansionist policy in Eastern Europe and her treatment of East Germany in her possession alarmed the Western democracies. So the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to contain Communism in Europe and the South East Asia Treaty Organization to do the same in Asia were formed under the leadership of U.S.A. While Russia showed an aggressive and subversive form of international communism in Eastern Europe, China was fully equipped with army, money and industrial power to pose a threat to the world. A novel feature in international politics after the Second World War was the logistics of the cold war.

The U.S.A. began to play a positive role in Asian affairs only after India became free and Indonesia was sought to be forced back into slavery by the Dutch. But her role was rather pragmatic than based on the application of any well defined principle. The charge often made against the U.S.A. was that, while she claimed the right and duty to protect the whole of the new world from outside and alien influences, she was practicing a kind of imperialism in all of Latin America. It was Roosevelt and to a lesser extent Kennedy that stood for a global policy based more or less on the universal declaration of human rights proclaimed by the United Nations. The world stood divided into two blocs, the Communist bloc headed by Russia and the Western democracy led by the U.S.A. The U.N.O. has been trying to bridge the gulf between the East and the West. But often the members of the Security Council have found it impossible to act in concert. India as a member of the U.N.O. has been cooperating with the other members for the promotion of international peace. But Nehru in a foreign policy

debate (in June 1962) in the Parliament felt compelled to observe that the United Nations was gradually becoming "a protector of colonialism".

It is a regrettable fact that India's relations with her neighbours are not altogether friendly. India's attitude towards all nations is one of peace and friendliness, but her neighbours have their own policies. Pakistan ever since its inception has been treating India as inimical to her. Jinnah's distrust and suspicion of India appears to be the legacy of Pakistan. The unfounded fear is that India would make it impossible for Pakistan to survive as an independent country. Pakistan is guided by her alignment with the U.S.A. and the military aid that she has received from the U.S.A. has only encouraged her to disregard India's approaches for good neighbourliness. Communist China does not like the planned economy of democratic India. India is demonstrating that a democracy could profit by planned economy. Ceylon has both economic and race problems of her own, and wants the Indian residents there to migrate to India. The Commonwealth countries are obsessed by their own problems and India does not generally figure significantly in their discussions. Burma's policy of nationalization has resulted in the loss of Indian concerns and property in that land and has led to the migration of Indians that had settled there. It cannot be said that India and her neighbours have as yet fully reconciled themselves to the situation that has been developing since 1947.

India's foreign policy has to be understood in the light of the situation described above. Before we proceed to discuss India's relations with individual countries, we would like to mention the genesis of India's policy of non-alignment. Conditions of cold war have been prevailing since the end of Second World War; the NATO and SEATO powers are aligned against the Communist bloc; undeclared wars have become common. Nehru sincerely believed that joining any bloc meant supporting war. His most important concern was to make India retain the freedom she had won. He thought involvement in the conflict of the power blocs would be harmful to India. So he boldly declared that his policy was non-alignment. This is often called neutralism, which implies indifference or inaction towards mutually opposed nations. Nehru vehemently objected to such a description of his policy. He made

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it clear that his non-alignment meant freedom to judge the right and wrong in a situation and support the right. India's non-alignment is therefore not a negative neutralism. When two great power blocs stood in opposition to each other he believed that there must be a third party for mediation and counsel. It was his firm belief that India could be the spearhead of such a body and work for international peace. Most of the free states of Asia and Africa appreciate the policy of non-alignment and support it. They are no doubt economically and militarily weak, but it is a matter of no small importance that they represent large groups of people in the world. Another thing that should be made clear is that Nehru had no intention of becoming an Asian or Afro-Asian leader. He was conscious of the fact that India's influence in international affairs was comparatively little. Indeed, at one time he rebuked some of his followers when they talked as if India really counted in world affairs. Nevertheless, after independence India did really loom large in the eyes of both the blocs; Western democracies were interested in the development of democratic institutions in India. The Communist bloc was interested in the adoption of Five Year Plans for social justice and economic improvement.

*India and Pakistan.* The relations between India and Pakistan have belied the hope that suspicion and bitterness might gradually fade away. There were three controversial issues between India and Pakistan, namely Kashmir, evacuee property and river waters. The Pakistan part of the Punjab depends very largely on irrigation for cultivation. As the result of partition twenty-one million acres of irrigated area of the Punjab went to Pakistan as against five million acres in India. The upper regions of the rivers flowing into Pakistan lay in Indian territory. Pakistan feared that India's own need to increase her irrigation facilities might leave Pakistan short of water. Moreover, some of the Pakistan canals have their headworks in Indian territory. India could, if she wished, divert these canals and cut off supply of water to Pakistan. Soon after partition India and Pakistan entered into a stand-still agreement according to which the same proportions of the waters of the rivers would be allowed to flow downstream into Pakistan as before partition. This agreement lapsed on 31 March, 1948, and quarrels

arose between the two countries over the question of sharing water. The World Bank offered its good offices to work out a settlement. Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank and David Lilienthal of the Tennessee Valley Authority of the U.S.A. brought about an amicable settlement in September 1960. The Indus Water Treaty as it is called divides the total waters of the Indus system in the proportion of 80:20 between Pakistan and India. The construction of the link canals, and other necessary works were estimated to cost Rs. 500 crores. The World Bank, the U.K., the U.S.A., and other friendly countries offered loans for the engineering works which, it was reckoned, would take ten to thirteen years for completion.

The disposal of the property of the millions of people, who had abandoned their homes was another difficult problem. It is not necessary to trace the history of many discussions in detail. Pakistan realized that under any arrangement she would have to pay a considerable amount of money to India and this she was not prepared to do. The evacuee problem, therefore, has greatly embittered relations between the two countries.

Pakistan determined to set up her own jute mills and deprive Calcutta of raw jute. As already indicated India planned a considerable increase of jute cultivation. The government of Sind placed drastic restrictions on the removal of commodities by Hindu emigrants to India from the province. India replied by threatening to withhold the cash balances due to Pakistan under the financial arrangements between them. However, wiser counsels prevailed and both the countries signed important trade agreements, (June 1948).

In September 1949 Britain and India devalued their currency, but Pakistan decided to maintain the value of her rupee which in effect made her economic arrangement with India meaningless. India refused to recognize the Pakistan rupee at its own value or indeed at any value at all. No monetary transaction was possible between the two countries and trade was at a complete stand-still. The conflict became particularly bitter, when Pakistan refused to allow the export to India of jute fully paid for before devaluation. Thereupon India stopped supply of coal to Pakistan. By April 1950 however, both Delhi and Karachi recognized that neither country could withstand the loss resulting from the trade dead-

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lock, and in February 1951 there was a trade agreement between the two countries. India recognized the par value of the Pakistan rupee and the devaluation war was at an end. In July 1955 Pakistan devalued her rupee to Indian level and this further eased the strain.

While these disputes between India and Pakistan have been settled in a way, the Kashmir problem continues to give trouble. We have already referred to the circumstances under which Kashmir acceded to India. The U.N. tried to bring about an agreement between India and Pakistan, but failed. Demilitarization was considered essential by the U.N. Pakistan would not withdraw her forces unless India at the same time withdrew her forces on her side of the line. India insisted on Pakistan's withdrawal first, as she was the aggressor. Further, India was not prepared to leave Kashmir unprotected or ungoverned by withdrawing her forces completely from Kashmir. It was suggested that a U.N. force composed of contingents from European or American countries should hold Kashmir, pending a plebiscite. Nehru objected to this as it would mean a reversion to European domination. He, however, expressed his willingness to settle the Kashmir question by the partition of the state along the cease-fire line. Pakistan hoped that in a plebiscite the Muslim population would vote for Pakistan and so refused to agree to this compromise. During his tour of India in December 1955 Khrushchev clearly said that the plebiscite was unnecessary and that Kashmir belonged to India. On the ground that U.S. military aid to Pakistan had altered the situation, Nehru rejected the possibility of a plebiscite. India went ahead with a number of development projects in Indian held Kashmir. A Kashmir Constituent Assembly was formed. This assembly duly voted for the incorporation of Kashmir into India from 26 January, 1957. Sheik Abdullah who had been Prime minister of Kashmir from 1947 to 1953 favoured either independence or greater autonomy for his state. He did not want Kashmir to be incorporated into India. As he gave trouble he was put in prison. Pakistan regards the issue of Kashmir as one of prestige. She is unable to reconcile herself with the idea that the Muslim majority area should join India. Western nations who favour Pakistan are unable to understand that as a secular state India cannot allow religion to play a part in the settlement of the issue. Kashmir is

regarded by Indians as a test of the very basis of the Indian nation. If India should yield to the demand for a plebiscite it would lead to a lot of communal trouble in India. Already India is experiencing a lot of worries over the question of Nagaland. A plebiscite in Kashmir would mean only multiplying such troubles in India. After Kashmir was incorporated into India, Sheik Abdullah was released. He went on a European tour but abused the privileges of Indian citizenship. He was therefore forced to return to India and when he came he was interned.

Pakistan has been keeping the Kashmir issue alive constantly threatening India with *Jehad* (Holy war). Perhaps this is necessary to divert the people's attention from internal politics that are not altogether reassuring. In East Pakistan, there is a sizeable minority of Hindus who by force of circumstances have been compelled to leave their homes and seek safety in India. There has been also infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into the Indian territory to give trouble to the Government of India. Pakistan entered into a boundary treaty with China, giving away territory to which India has a claim. Her alliance with China emboldened her to follow a more aggressive policy towards India. She crossed the boundary line and occupied a few places in the Rann of Kutch and compelled India to take military action in defence. It appeared that India and Pakistan were on the brink of war, when fortunately Harold Wilson, the Premier of England used his influence at the time of Commonwealth Conference in London in 1965 and brought about a cease-fire agreement. It is hoped that by peaceful negotiation it will be possible to make Pakistan vacate her aggression in the Rann of Kutch. But unless Pakistan reconciles herself with Kashmir's accession to India, there seems to be no hope of establishing cordial relations between her and India.

*Relations with China.* In the early years of independence all-out friendship with China was the corner-stone of India's foreign policy. She repeatedly sponsored the claim of Communist China to the Chinese seat in the United Nations. There were friendly official visits and exchange of cultural delegations between the two countries. But in the autumn of 1962 India's feelings of friendship and admiration gave place to anger and fear. Nehru awoke



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to see that he had been treacherously lulled into a false sense of security by the Chinese leaders. The first sign of trouble came when India discovered early in 1950 that Chinese maps included in Chinese territories large areas that really belonged to India. When this was pointed out the Chinese explained it away saying that the maps antedated the Communist regime and that they had no time to re-examine them. Again in 1950 trouble arose over Tibet. The British regarded Tibet as a buffer state between Russia, China and India and so in 1904 secured special privileges. They had the right to keep military contingents in the town of Gyantse and to maintain political and trade agents in Tibet, as well as postal and telegraph facilities. Independent India inherited these privileges. Theoretically it must be admitted that Tibet belonged to China, but had always been enjoying partial autonomy. Till 1950 China had made no attempt to exercise her sovereignty over Tibet; in that year Communist China sent in an occupying force. This of course caused concern to the Government of India. China disregarded India's official protests. Finally, in 1954 India recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet in a treaty which confirmed the Indian pilgrimage and trade rights. The preamble to this treaty embodied Nehru's famous *Panch Shila* (Five principles of Peaceful Co-existence) namely, mutual respect of territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. The Chinese respected the terms of the treaty till 1959. Before then, however, in 1957 the Indian Government discovered that the Chinese had built a road across the Aksai Chin of Ladakh, and felt greatly perturbed. Ladakh, a remote rugged and uninhabitable region, was conquered by the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir in the mid-nineteenth century. But being separated by high mountains from the rest of Kashmir, Ladakh had not received due attention from the British Indian Government and the Nehru Government did not think it worth risking a breach with China. But when the line around Ladakh had been marked on British maps in the early decades of the twentieth century, Tibet recorded a protest claiming the territory as hers. In the spring of 1958 the Indian Government sent two detachments to examine the new Chinese road in the Aksai Chin area; one detachment was captured by the Chinese and India pro-

tested in vain. Nehru entered into correspondence over the matter with Chou-En-lai. Meanwhile the Chinese tightened their hold over Tibet. A revolution broke out on 20 March, 1959. The Dalai Lama, the supreme temporal and ecclesiastical power of the state, fled to India followed by thousands of Buddhist refugees. Stories about the ruthlessness and brutality of the Chinese in Tibet spread and they were later confirmed by the International Commission of Jurists. A revulsion of feeling against the Chinese arose among the Hindus and Buddhists in India. While anger was mounting, towards the end of 1959 China began to encroach on Indian territory in the North East. While there may be reasonable doubt about the boundary line in Ladakh, the McMahon line in North East Assam was well defined. The denial of the validity of the McMahon settlement by the Chinese was nothing short of dishonesty. Further, the Chinese troop dispositions in the area of encroachment really threatened Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. This awoke Nehru to the realities of the danger and for the first time he spoke bluntly of Chinese aggression and warned China that any encroachment on the three Himalayan states would be resisted by India, with force if necessary. When the opposition members in the Parliament urged Nehru to take the strongest possible action to drive China out of all Indian territory Nehru counselled moderation saying: "To imagine that India can push China about is silly. To imagine that China can push India about is equally silly. We must accept things as they are...It is fantastic to talk about war." Nehru hoped to settle the matter by negotiation. But he failed miserably and in 1960 he publicly admitted that the Chinese claimed sovereignty of over 52,000 square miles of Indian territory and had occupied 14,000 square miles of the total, most of it in Ladakh. Two years passed. There was no sign of the Government of India having fully realized the seriousness of the Chinese danger in difficult mountainous region. The Chinese were well equipped for mountain warfare and had made careful preparation for their aggressive design. India's northern frontier is about 2,600 miles. It is indeed impossible to guard such a long boundary "solidly and in depth". The invaders from the north are in an advantageous position for they can choose their own striking point. The defending army has enormous difficulty to move its contingents and

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supply services to attack the enemy. In some places transport can be had only by air. Even helicopters give trouble in the mountain air.

The Chinese were not slow to take advantage of the inherent weakness of the Indian defence. In Ladakh they rapidly seized more area than they had previously claimed. In the North East Frontier Agency they came down the mountain slopes in several places. It was clear that their design was to capture the entire valley of the Brahmaputra and the important oil fields of Assam. Indian soldiers had neither the equipment necessary for mountain warfare nor had they even winter clothing, nor were they sufficiently strong in number to check the Chinese advance. On 29 October 1962 Nehru sent urgent requests to the United States and the United Kingdom for military aid and both the countries readily and generously responded. Nehru hoped to get help from Russia also. The promised M.I.G. fighter planes did not come in the hour of need. Some of them appear to have been sent too late for use. The non-aligned Afro-Asian countries remained non-aligned in the hour of India's need and counselled negotiation for cease-fire. The Chinese, perhaps because they had occupied what they had wanted to, or because of the consequences of the military aid of the U.S.A. and U.K. and the possible Russian aid to India, suddenly, on 21 November made a unilateral offer of a cease-fire. There was a difference of opinion between India and China over the line to which the Chinese should withdraw. Without any agreement on the matter both sides stopped fighting and the Chinese pulled back much as they had promised, but not as India had demanded.

The six Colombo Powers (Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic and Ghana) negotiated for long to bring about a settlement between China and India, but failed owing to the uncompromising attitude of China over relinquishing a large part of the newly occupied territory. The answer to the question whether the India-China border dispute will ever be peacefully settled can only be conjectural at present. The Chinese aggression brought out clearly the need for strengthening India's defence and rethinking her foreign policy, partly based on non-violence. The readiness of the help rendered by the members of the Commonwealth of Nations showed the bond of friendship and union among

them. The U.S.A. aided India from a genuine desire for the preservation of the democratic set up in India. Locally, all the political parties in India forgot their petty differences and stood united to meet the Chinese aggression, only the communists were divided in their loyalties.

The surprise Chinese attack revealed clearly how the Chinese soldiers had been thoroughly trained for mountain and jungle warfare and how effective their modern military equipment was. The Chinese intelligence service was superb and their communications excellent. To her distress India found that there were fifth columnists who ably assisted the Chinese.

Although ill-equipped and unprepared for war, the Indian soldiers fought bravely and inflicted heavy casualties on the Chinese. It became plain that the greatest need of India's defence services was modern arms and equipment. V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, was no doubt a man of great experience in foreign affairs and of outstanding ability. But his tenure of office was regarded as a national misfortune. He had played politics with the defence services and was held responsible for India's debacle in the Chinese war. He was relieved of his office and Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra was offered the defence portfolio. The defence position was studied carefully and it was agreed that first priority should be given to the equipment of the army and in particular to the provision of mountain warfare equipment.

Nehru's policy of non-alignment came in for criticism. There was, however, agreement in knowledgeable circles that it was sound. Alignment with Russia or U.S.A. would bring no tangible good to India, for what hope was there for an admittedly poor country like India to make her voice effectively felt in international politics. It was pointed out that Nehru's non-alignment led the U.S.A. and U.K. to think that India was undependable in her relations with other countries. There was no doubt about that feeling, but it sprang not from the policy of non-alignment but from the nature of Nehru's utterances on international issues, such as America's intervention in the Cuban affair and Britain's action against Egypt over the Suez. Nehru was deliberately outspoken in the belief that democratic nations would appreciate and tolerate honest differences

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of opinion. But when their prestige was at stake, such utterances roused resentment in them.

*Relations with the Three Himalayan Border States.* The three Himalayan border states are Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. They were once called the "Hermit Kingdoms" because of their isolation. India's relations with Nepal were not quite cordial till recently. Nepal has an area of 54,000 square miles with a population of ten million. In race, religion, language, culture and tradition it has much in common with India. Nepal functioned only as a protectorate, not as sovereign state during the British regime. From 1846 to 1951, Nepal was ruled by the Ranas, who were also the prime ministers. The Nehru government helped king Mahendra to terminate the long-established Rana regime. India helped Nepal to take its place among the free nations of the world in its own right. In 1951, the king proclaimed constitutional monarchy. But in 1959 he dismissed his Cabinet, dissolved the Parliament, banned all political parties and assumed sole national leadership. Nehru was anxious that Nepal should retain parliamentary democracy and was reluctant to condemn Nepalese insurgents. Mahendra did not like Nehru's disapproval of his action. He visited Pakistan, signed a border agreement with China and arranged for the construction of a Chinese-aided road between Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal and Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Chou-En-Lai proudly said that this was a bridge between China and India. The Chinese have handled King Mahendra with utmost delicacy. Nehru failed to win him over, because he interfered with the institutions of Nepal out of an abstract love for constitutional government. Fortunately, the state visit of Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Indian President, to Nepal in November 1963 and his frequent references to historic ties between the two countries have helped to improve the Indo-Nepalese relations, and they are now on a better footing and more friendly.

Sikkim is the smallest of the three Himalayan border states with an area of 2,800 square miles and a population of 140,000 mostly Buddhists of the Tibetan stock. It lies right across the main trade route from India to Lhasa and hence it is of strategic importance. A full scale attack of Communist China against India might well be made through Sikkim which is a protectorate of India with a

Maharaja to rule over it. According to the treaty signed at Gangtok in 1950 India takes the responsibility for defence, external affairs and communications of Sikkim. India has been making grants to aid its development. There are now 740 miles of road and tracks and a ropeway twelve and half miles long linking Gangtok and Nathula pass.

Bhutan which is six times the size of Sikkim is more closely connected with Tibet than with India, geographically and culturally. It is not easily accessible from India. The Indian Government has recently undertaken a road building programme to make access easier. According to the treaty of 1949 Bhutan will be guided in its foreign relations by the Government of India. Besides promising an annual subsidy of rupees five lakhs the Government of India retroceded to Bhutan thirty square miles of territory around Dewangiri which had been annexed by the British in 1865. "Any aggression against Sikkim and Bhutan will be considered aggression against India," said Nehru.

*Relations with Afro-Asian States.* To stimulate cooperation and promote mutual understanding among Asian and African nations was Nehru's policy. In March 1947 before India attained independence, he convened an Inter-Asian Relations Conference in Delhi, under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs. Twenty-five Eastern countries including the Soviet Union and Egypt attended the conference. Two years later, at the official level, he convened a similar conference. This was attended by representatives of nineteen Asian governments. This conference protested against the Dutch military action against Indonesian nationalists and asked the U.N. Security Council to order the complete independence of Indonesia within a year.

Nehru was one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference of April 1955. Representatives of twenty-nine nations, including Communist China, attended this conference whose object was to bring Asian nations into harmony. Soekarno, the Indonesian President, in his inaugural address voiced an angry indictment of 'White' imperialism. He proudly claimed 'this is the first international conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind'. Chou-En-Lai, the Communist leader, "a product of war, conspi-

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racy and revolution" spoke about strict adherence to *Pancha Shila*. There appears to have been an inward personality clash among the important leaders. It was soon found that there was no unity among the nations at the conference. The non-aligned nations also were divided in their aims and objectives. There was estrangement between Malaya and Indonesia. The Arab countries headed by Iraq demonstrated their hostility to Israel. Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines and others refused to follow Nehru's lead on friendship with Communist China. The most hotly debated point was military alliances with the West. Among Afro-Asian countries the real national interests of neighbouring countries did not in any way coincide. However, Nehru's prestige among non-aligned countries rose. But not one of big nations assembled there could emerge as the unchallenged leader of the Afro-Asian group.

In September 1961, at Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, a conference of heads of the non-aligned states was held. It was hoped that Marshall Tito's thesis that the future of mankind should not be allowed to lie in the hands of a few powers would be considered and a way to reach the goal would be chalked out, but nothing of the kind happened. The solidarity of non-aligned nations proved a myth. Irrespective of the results of those conferences, India's faith in the soundness of the policy of non-alignment has remained unshaken.

India has special problems with a number of Afro-Asian nations arising from the existence of sizeable Indian minorities in them. These overseas Indians consist of unskilled labourers on one hand and big bankers and merchants on the other. The citizens of the country in which the Indians live resent their presence among them, chiefly because of their enviable wealth.

Economic nationalism in Burma deprived Indians of their property rights and most of them returned to India as refugees. India did not officially protest against the expropriations. But they added tension to her relations with Burma. However, Nehru managed to maintain good relations with the government of Burma.

The chief problem of the Ceylonese is to maintain their standard of living in the face of a rapidly increasing population. After independence group rivalries and conflicts developed between the

Tamil-speaking Ceylonese and Sinhalese. Insufficient food production and scarcity of jobs accentuated the rivalry. At present there are roughly nine million people in Ceylon of whom about a million are Tamils. As jobs are not sufficient the Government of Ceylon has sought to reserve for the Ceylonese as many jobs as possible in all kinds of occupations by enforcing numerous restrictions on the non-Ceylonese residents there. This discrimination affects the domiciled Indians. The Ceylonese Indians may justifiably claim to have contributed very substantially to the economic development and prosperity of the Ceylonese. The notification that Sinhalese is the sole official language of the country has further exacerbated the feelings between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. There has so far been no satisfactory solution of the problems. Since 1948 "Ceylon's Indians have been progressively debarred from citizenship and franchise". An Indian by origin can only be regarded as a Sinhalese if he has been born in Ceylon and can prove that he has had a family connection with Ceylon for two generations. In many genuine cases it will be difficult to prove this.

India's relations with Indonesia were cordial till 1950, because of her championship of Indonesian independence. After independence Indonesia turned her back towards India. Soekarno, not content with following Nehru's lead, developed leadership ambition of his own.

India played a major part in preventing the struggle in Korea and Indo-China from developing into a major war. India's experience of intervention on behalf of the U.N. in the Congo was not happy; she was treated with discourtesy. On the whole, however, India's prestige stood high in international circles.

*Relations with Russia.* During Stalin's time Russians used to refer to India as a 'stooge' of the imperialists and capitalists. But soon after his death, Khrushchev decided to make friends with India, and invited Nehru to visit Moscow. Nehru accepted it and demonstrated that India had no antagonism towards Russia. His visit was a great success and led to a return invitation. Khrushchev and Bulganin visited India in December 1955. We have already referred to Khrushchev's forthright announcements on Goa and



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Kashmir which though pleasing to India were somewhat startling to the U.S.A. and U.K. But when Khrushchev made bitter speeches against the British the initial enthusiasm for Russian leaders somewhat cooled down. In 1955 India was in no sense pro-Russian. But the Western nations could not understand why India did not share their fear and suspicion of Russia's expansionist policy. They thought that with Russian help for the Second Five Year Plan India might be drawn closer to that country.

Russian behaviour in Hungary towards the end of 1956 induced a feeling of revulsion in most educated Indians. But Nehru who had condemned Anglo-French intervention in Suez was silent about Russia's conduct and this was vexing to U.S.A. and Britain. It was just at the time of Russian aggression in Hungary that Russia offered financial assistance to India for the purchase of machinery. This was embarrassing to thoughtful Indians. However, some sections of the public believed that India could look up to Russia for help if China went too far. There are signs that cordial relations between Russia and India are growing.

*Relations with U.S.A.* In the days of the struggle for freedom, India hoped that the U.S.A. would bring moral pressure to bear on U.K. to grant India self-government. During the Second World War a number of U.S.A. officers came in close contact with Indians. Somehow or other the Britishers stood comparatively high in the esteem of the Indians. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the use of atom bombs did really shock the Indians. After the withdrawal of Britain from India, Chester Bowles did much to bring the U.S.A. closer to India. But soon MaCarthyism undid the good work of Chester Bowles. Towards the end of 1956 when the U.S.A. intervened in the Suez episode and effectively put an end to a probable war, Indian feeling towards the U.S.A. changed for the better, for her reaction was in consonance with India's approach to world affairs. Immediately after this came the announcement of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" with regard to the Middle East. This was made a few days after Nehru's return from his historic visit to the U.S.A. but Nehru had not been told anything about it. That doctrine was complete negation of the policy implied in India's non-alignment. It was clearly a war on communism.

India believed in co-existence. American intolerance and hatred of communism was something which India could not clearly understand. India never favoured communism of the Russian or the Chinese type. There is no fear of India turning communist so long as she is left undisturbed in her belief in *Karma* and *Dharma* which do not militate against self-effort for economic improvement, but only require reconciliation with the final results of the effort, whatever they be. In spite of obvious differences of the two countries in their approach to world affairs, mutual understanding between them has been growing rapidly. The policy of the U.S.A. in helping the under-developed countries has greatly impressed the thinking section of the Indian public. Particularly, their monetary and technical help for the development of school education on modern lines has endeared the Americans to the people of India.

American expressions of disapproval of India's invasion of Goa were not liked by the Indians. How could peace loving India use force to drive the Portuguese out of Goa? This was the question frequently asked. Both the U.S.A. and U.K. could have brought pressure to bear on Portugal to give away Goa voluntarily as the French had given away Pondicherry, but they did not. Their countenance of Portugal's hold over Goa was perhaps to test the operation of India's policy of non-violence. Non-violence as a political weapon in international dealings can only have a very limited operation. Non-violence under all conditions is a sheer impossibility in human relationship as things stand at present, unless of course people turn into *mahatmas*. The cow is no doubt a sacred animal to the Hindu; if however, a cow threatens to kill a Hindu he is obliged to repel it with force before he can allow himself to be killed, for self-preservation is the prime law of nature. The presence of the Portuguese was inconsistent with the territorial integrity of India. The Western powers might have told India plainly why they desired continuance of Portuguese rule in Goa indefinitely, particularly when Portugal made it clear that nothing but force could dislodge her from Goa and a few other enclaves. India feels that her occupation of Goa by military action is unnecessarily exaggerated into aggression.

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Indian expression of opinion on American policy on Cuba was resented by the U.S.A. India has been unable to understand the policy of the U.S.A. in giving a disproportionately large military aid to Pakistan. In spite of the displeasure of the U.S.A. and U.K., India continued to remain non-aligned. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are two colossal powers with atomic weapons accusing each other of imperialistic designs. Small nations are now obliged to depend on big nations for their survival. Under such circumstances Nehru's determination to pursue the policy of non-alignment was an act of courage.

*Relations with U.K.* One outstanding feature in the relationship between Britain and India is that the statesmen of both the countries were able to conquer the prejudices of the old unhappy days to recognize the community of interest of India and Britain. Some people are puzzled at it. The first thing to be decided after independence was whether India should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth or not. At the end of the Dominion Premiers' Conference in October 1948 Nehru stated that "we may not agree about everything but it is surprising what a large measure of unanimity there was, not only in the objectives to be aimed at, but also in the methods to be pursued. . . . This meeting has shown me that there is great scope for the Commonwealth." Nehru persuaded the Congress to agree to maintain India's connection with the Commonwealth. In spite of opposition Nehru triumphed. The Commonwealth countries showed an imaginative flexibility rarely found in political history by evolving a formula which enabled India to become a Republic and at the same time remain in the Commonwealth, through the common headship of the King. The Constituent Assembly accepted this formula and India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Before the transfer of power Indian politicians and economists had condemned the link between the rupee and sterling as harmful to Indian interests. In September 1949 Sir Stafford Cripps announced the devaluation of the pound and within a few hours of it, to the surprise of the world, the Indian Cabinet decided on a corresponding devaluation of the rupee so that the close connection of the economy of Britain and India might be kept up. Thus

the second issue of relations between rupee and sterling was satisfactorily settled.

The U.K. was unable to understand Nehru's policy of non-alignment. But it was the United Kingdom that first understood that the policy of Nehru was not his own creation, but of the dominant mood of India about the first decade of independence. Though non-aligned, India cherishes the same political and humanitarian ideals as Britain. We have already referred to several misunderstandings between Britain and India, such as, the Congo affair, and Suez question. The introduction of the bill to regulate migration into the U.K., made Indians feel that Britain was getting away from the Commonwealth to Europe. Britain was angry, when India did not yield to her pressure not to use force against the Portuguese in Goa. A section of the British Press went beyond reasonable limit to criticise Nehru. About this Percival Griffiths observes:

On the other hand, there are sections of the British Press which go beyond reasonable limit and seem to delight in sneering at Nehru and his government. They do not present British opinion and their attitude is resented by Englishmen who have lived and worked in India but they receive a lot of attention in Delhi. Circumspection will be particularly necessary in future, in view of recent events.

In spite of differences on certain international issues Britain and India have come closer to each other. The cordial relationship between the two countries was well symbolized by the tumultuous welcome given to her Majesty the Queen, when she visited India. Her Majesty's presence on 26 January 1961 side by side with the President of India at the Republic Day celebrations well illustrated the breadth and flexibility of the Commonwealth. With the departure of the members of the Civil Service, there have not been in India British students of India's history and culture. The British businessmen who come to India cannot be expected to take any deep interest in oriental studies. The present generation of politicians and officials of India were brought up to English ways of thought. It cannot be said that the rising generation will have

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that understanding of British culture as their predecessors had. English as an intellectual link between Britain and India is growing weaker and weaker. In order to maintain community of thought and feeling between the two countries it becomes necessary for leaders of both the nations to put forth conscious effort.

*Economic Development*

AFTER independence India is on the high road of economic and social advancement. Before the transfer of power the Indian National Congress believed that the poverty of India was the result of British rule and that she would rapidly prosper with independence. Indian economists maintain that in India Britain followed a systematic policy of "planned undevelopment" which left gaps in the country's economy, that would take a long time to fill. Radhakamal Mukherjee observes, "... the distribution of the railway net, the freight rate for railway goods, the marketing organization and the banking system, all helped the British economic regime to replace the products of Indian cottage industries and handicrafts, especially handloom weaving and facilitate the import of British textile goods and export raw material."<sup>1</sup> The cottage.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. V. B. Singh (Ed), Foreword to *Economic History of India*.

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industries of India had been deliberately destroyed. The land was impoverished owing to heavy taxation, which left no surplus and no incentive with the tiller to replenish the soil. The sizes of agricultural holdings got progressively diminished. The yield from the land steadily declined. In the last four or five decades of British rule there had been some industrial development in India, but it was of a very limited character. In 1947 India's industrial base was thus weak. The population in 1950 was one and a half times that in 1900. This only increased the pressure on land and further depressed the already low productivity per worker. The standard of living was poor; opportunities for employment were very limited. All this resulted in accentuating inequalities of income and wealth. In 1949, the annual per capita income of India was 57 U.S. dollars as against 1,453 of the U.S.A., 773 of U.K., 870 of Canada, 482 of France and 100 of Japan. Some of India's Asian neighbours like Thailand had much higher per capita income than India. The production and consumption of steel is regarded as the index of a country's economic development. India produced 1.5 million metric tons of crude steel as against 87.6 of U.S.A., 16.6 of U.K., and 4.5 of Japan. Her production of electric power was very low compared with that of other progressive countries. Even what little was generated could not be fully used. Yet India's resources for producing both steel and power have been very considerable. Agricultural productivity was low, for example, wheat produced per acre was only 2.6 metric quintals as against 4.5 metric quintals in U.S.A., 10.7 in U.K., and 7.1 in Japan.<sup>2</sup>

The poverty of India was reflected in the extremely thin social services provided. In the British period public health came to be organized for the British residents employed as heads of various departments in the Government of India. Medical colleges were opened only for the training of a small number of medical men required. Then the Public Health Department was organized and the medical needs of the urban population were catered to. In 1950 there was one physician for every 6,000 people in India.

<sup>2</sup> *World Population and Production Trends and Outlook 1953*; The Twentieth Century Fund, New York.

Only nineteen per cent of the population were literates. Poverty, ill-health and illiteracy formed a vicious circle which in its turn sought to perpetuate economic under-development.

*Economic policy.* The Congress Government believed that the position could be improved only by discipline and careful organization of the resources and so planning became the corner-stone of the new economic policy of India. Nehru firmly believed that there must be industrial development at all costs. There were two schools of thought as to the right lines of industrial development. Those belonging to the Gandhian school were afraid that India might suffer from the social evils which attended the Industrial Revolution in England and therefore advocated the expansion of cottage industries. The Nehruites recognized that a country without highly developed large-scale industries could not count in the modern world.

Gandhi was a strong advocate of village life. Writing in the *Harijan* on 26 July 1942 he expressed his idea of village autonomy thus:

My idea of village *swaraj* is that of a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playgrounds for adults and children... The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own water-works ensuring its own water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis... There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotations from the village. The government of the village will be conducted by the *Panchayat* of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications... The *Panchayats* will be the legislative, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office.



In an interview with foreign correspondents at Mussoorie in 1946, Gandhi, relating to urban life said, "I consider the growth of cities to be an evil thing, unfortunate for mankind and the world... and certainly unfortunate for India... The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built."<sup>8</sup>

The economic policy of free India totally rejected Gandhi's objection to the growth of cities, but in a way accepted the reform of *Panchayati Raj*. While Gandhi wanted the village to be an independent unit, Nehru could make it a constituent unit, subordinate to higher organizations, and at the same time enjoying effective power. Nehru's government believed that in India the percentage of rural population was extraordinarily high and therefore made a deliberate attempt to absorb them in urban industries.

Nehru realized that the immediate establishment of large-scale industries was not an easy matter. It was suggested to him that the sterling balances could be utilized for compulsory purchases of British industries in India. But Nehru said frankly: "We require not only money, but what is far more important, trained human material; in fact that is the only thing in the ultimate analysis, whether it is industry or any other department of life, and let us admit that we have not got a sufficient quantity of that trained human material in any aspect of life today." To raise the standard of living of the people, production must be increased; national wealth and national dividend must be increased. Mere adjustment by a more equal distribution of wealth cannot bring more wealth. So production of more types and kinds of goods was the cardinal principle of Nehru's economic policy.

After the transfer of power various forms of legislative and executive discrimination that had been protecting British commercial interest disappeared. At the beginning of 1948 the Economic Programme Committee of the All India Congress Committee published a resolution envisaging a large measure of state ownership of industry which perturbed commercial circles. Their anxiety was allayed by the Industrial Policy Resolution of 6 April 1948. This resolution recognized India's need for the expansion of production. "For some time to come", the state should concentrate

<sup>8</sup> K. M. Panikkar, *The Foundations of India*, p. 185.

on new units of production instead of undertaking nationalization of existing units. Industries were grouped roughly into three categories. Armaments, railway transport and certain other industries belonging to the first category became a government monopoly. The second category contained a list of basic and strategic industries such as coal, iron and steel, ship-building and mineral ores and the responsibility for their future development was vested with the state. The third category covered the rest of the industrial field which was open to private enterprise. This policy was reiterated through the Industrial Policy Resolution of April 1956. This showed clearly that Nehru was deliberately in favour of encouraging private enterprise. However, there were some businessmen who were unhappy about the stipulation of a period of ten years for a final decision on nationalization of industries and were nervous of undertaking long-term investments. They were also disturbed by the statement "that labour's share of profits should be on a sliding scale, normally varying with production" contained in the policy resolution.

The co-existence of public and private sectors in industry is called mixed economy. Government monopoly in certain spheres as in the Post and Telegraph department is inevitable for any government in the modern world. India Government's mixed economy is a *via media* between the so called capitalist system and the socialistic pattern of Communist Russia or China. Therefore the experiment is looked upon with fresh interest by both Western and Eastern Blocs. Democratic India and Communist China started about the same economic level in the early 1950. Both countries have made every effort to increase agricultural as well as industrial production, but the significant difference is that China has used compulsion which India has determined not to use.

The industrial policy resolution covered also the investment of foreign capital in India. This part of the resolution was explained by Prime Minister Nehru himself. He made it plain that he wished to encourage foreign capital investment in industry not only for its own sake, but because of the industrial and technical knowledge it would bring with it. He said that as a rule the major interest in a new undertaking should be in Indian hands. The ratio of Indian investment and the foreign investment should be

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as 51:49 for allowing a foreign concern in India. It was announced that each case would be dealt with on its merits by the government. There was provision for the employment of non-Indians, where necessary, in posts requiring technical skill and experience; the condition imposed was that Indians must be trained for such posts as quickly as possible. Subject to foreign exchange considerations, foreign enterprises would be given facilities to make remittances home. They were promised equal treatment with Indian concerns. The conditions regarding Indian participation in respect of shareholdings was in practice interpreted with considerable flexibility later. In the period 1948-57 there was a definite shift into manufacture for the home market. The state regulation guided private investment in the manufacturing sector into production for the home market. Up to 1955, however, much of the increased foreign investment in "producer goods production" (for example, petroleum refining, machinery making and automobile manufacture, etc.) was based on imported rather than indigenously produced components and materials. At the same time encouragement for manufacture based on the utilization of indigenous raw material was given.

The manufacture of locomotives at Chittaranjan and sulphate of ammonia at Sindri and the construction of tele-communication equipment in association with a British Company were started as government monopoly. The government of India in consultation with the Central Advisory Council laid down certain principles for the foreign investor. The first was that a foreign newcomer must be concerned primarily with manufacture rather than trade. The then commerce minister made it plain that foreign participation in trade was not welcome. The second principle was to allow a foreigner to start a new industrial enterprise, if existing productive capacity in that field had proved to be inadequate, or where the proposed investment would help to save foreign exchange by increasing export or reducing import. The third principle was that training must be given to Indian personnel for senior posts both administrative and technical. If these principles were satisfied the government was not rigid with regard to the fifty-one per cent participation by Indian capital.

T.T. Krishnamachari, who became commerce minister in 1952,

was a realist and a believer in private enterprise. He was perhaps largely responsible for the flexibility in the matter of interpreting rules governing private enterprise. He made it possible for private concerns in the iron and steel industry to expand and even to erect new plants. His cabinet colleague K.C. Reddy was a thorough-going socialist and he and T.T.K. could not see eye to eye. After 1954 there was a growing left-wing tendency in the Congress Party. There was a proposal for the construction of a steel plant at Durgapur on the basis of Indo-British collaboration. T.T.K. as the Industries minister was responsible for steel production. K.C. Reddy was the minister for Production. He would not allow T.T.K. to encourage N. Birla, a member of the greatest family of industrialists in India, to form an Indo-British steel manufacturing consortium. Ultimately, the British capital was accepted and the Indian element became publicly owned. The rejection of Birla's proposal was regarded by Indian businessmen as a sign that socialism was to be the order of the day.

The question of adequate compensation for property acquired by the Government under the scheme of nationalization came up for discussion. Nehru was prepared to pay some compensation, but he thought it improper to pay full compensation for it militated against reducing the disparities between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. The Indian National Congress at Avadi, in January 1955 explicitly stated that the object of planning must be the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. In February 1956 at the Amritsar Congress the goal was defined more clearly; the term "socialist pattern" was replaced finally by "socialism" as the guiding principle. The Imperial Bank of India became a publicly owned and publicly managed State Bank. Life insurance was nationalized. In April 1956 the centre advised the state governments not to grant any licenses for coal prospecting to private parties. Colliery companies were asked to surrender the leases of areas that they had not so far worked. As Nehru noticed that there was prejudice against private sector in the minds of some of his friends and colleagues, he impatiently said: "I want to encourage private enterprise, because I think it desirable to encourage every way that helps a nation's growth and production." In India progress towards the socialistic state has been made not by nationalizing

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existing industry but by expanding the public sector by controlling private industries and by heavy taxation on accumulation of wealth.

The State Trading Corporation was established in 1955, primarily to handle trade with iron curtain countries. This company was given monopoly in trade in cement. The cost of imported cement was higher than that of cement produced in India. A few years later the import of cement was discontinued and the State Trading Corporation continued to hold the internal trade. It could have reduced the price of cement, but it did not do so, giving room for the accusation that it was being used "as extra-parliamentary source of taxation". Another factor tending towards the socialist state is the control-mindedness of the Government of India. Businessmen feel that they are hemmed in on every side by complicated rules and regulations of the government. For instance a limited company cannot appoint its managing agent without the approval of the government. Remuneration of directors is also limited by statute. In respect of labour there is a statutory fixation of minimum wages and the award of bonuses. The decisions of the industrial tribunals are binding on the employer and the employee. The criticism levelled is that neither employers nor workers are allowed to learn by experience the value of collective bargain.

Planning no doubt necessitates a certain measure of government controls. But the Government of India seems to regard controls not as temporary measures, but as a part of the permanent pattern of Indian economic life. In Asian countries economic nationalism has expressed itself generally in three ways. The first is that the industry shall be owned and controlled mainly by the nationals of the country concerned. The second is that nationals shall fill superior posts in industry whoever the shareholders may be. The third is the reservation to the country's own citizens of important sections of its trade. Commenting on this trend in economic nationalism Griffith observes: "In all these matters India has been more moderate than some of her neighbours. She has interfered little with the existing non-Indian industry and except to some extent in the matter of taxation, foreign businessmen have not suffered serious discrimination." The Government of India has recognized that it is right for a British-owned firm to

have a British head and this necessitates continued recruitment of British assistants who are expected to train Indian personnel to replace them efficiently.

The progress of Indianization may be seen from the figure of employment in foreign controlled companies, on salaries of Rs. 1,000 per mensem and above. In January 1954 there were 3,455 Indians to 7,008 non-Indians; in January 1959 the number of Indians rose to 7916 and non-Indians fell to 5304. This has to be interpreted in the context of expansion of different types of industries. But the progress of training Indian technicians, managers and administrators to replace foreign personnel within a reasonably short period has yet to be scientifically evaluated.

It is impossible in a brief review of this type to enter into details relating to the economic policy of the Government of India towards various departments of Indian industry and commerce. Expansion of public sector with constraints on private enterprise for the gradual development of socialistic pattern of society is the outstanding feature of Indian economic policy. Foreign observers may doubt "if the artificial constraints will benefit the Indian economy in the long run". Conservative leaders may decry controls, permits and licenses, but the Government of India is determined to apply principles of socialism to economic development and at the same time avoid violence and compulsion that have characterized Marxism. The Indian brand of socialism seems to be more in accord with Fabian principles than with Marxism.

*Planning for Progress.* Poverty has been India's most serious problem. Millions of her people have been living below the margin of subsistence. Since independence three Five Year Plans have been introduced to banish poverty and as we write this India is on the threshold of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Thousands of crores of rupces have been spent towards the banishment of poverty and yet more money is proposed to be spent.

The Congress gave evidence of its faith in planning as far back as 1937 when it accepted office in the provinces. It soon learned that without political power it could do nothing. The appointment of the Planning Commission in March 1950 marks the beginning of a new era in the economic history of India. India's

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Five Year Plans have attracted world-wide attention. America and many Western countries have welcomed them. They regard these plans as a crucial test on behalf of democratic planning, and have pledged their massive support to ensure their success. The first plan (1951-56) was relatively modest and was exceptionally fortunate in that most of its targets were reached. The long-term goal of the plan was to double the national income by 1970-71 and the per capita income by 1977-78. The success that attended the first Five Year Plan led to the revision of objectives in the second plan. It sought to secure the doubling of the national income by 1967-68 and the per capita income by 1973-74. But the 1961 census showed that the planners had under-estimated the rate of growth of the population. In the next fifteen years the increase in population is likely to be more than two per cent per annum in spite of attempts to check the growth. Increased population means increased requirements of consumption goods like food and cloth. There should also be a considerable increase in the opportunities for employment. To meet these demands the long-term objective of the third Five Year Plan is to increase the national income at the rate of six per cent per annum as against the average rate of four per cent during the period of the first two plans.

The goals of the plans are not easy to be attained. The content of each plan goes on increasing and deepening with the pace of development in India and the world. The nature of the goals is such that, like ideals, they cannot be reached. There can only be a progress towards them. In respect of increased production a number of key indices may be taken to indicate the progress made. Our national income at 1960-61 prices increased from Rs. 10,240 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 14,500 crores in 1960-61. The target for the Third Five Year Plan is Rs. 19,000 crores, which means doubling the national income. The difficulty here is the rapid increase in population. Therefore the per capita income does not show a rapid rise. However, the per capita income at 1960-61 prices was Rs. 284 in 1950-51 and Rs. 330 in 1960-61. Index of agricultural production (1949-50 = 100) was 96 in 1950-51 and 135 in 1960-61. Foodgrains production increased from 52.2 million tons in 1950-51 to 76 million tons in 1960-61. The index of industrial production (1950-51 = 100) was 100 in 1950-51 and

194 in 1960-61. Cloth production also shows an appreciable increase although the consumption of cloth per capita per annum stood static in the first two plans period.

Considerable emphasis was laid on the development of human resources through increased facilities for education. In all branches of education there has been a phenomenal increase quantitatively. To prevent concentration of economic power and reduce the existing disparities in income and wealth a number of steps have been taken to reorganize the production apparatus both in agriculture and in industry. In agriculture the middle man is eliminated to give tenancy right to the tiller. Greater security of tenure is given to the tiller. Rents are reduced and ceiling on agricultural holdings has been fixed. But before the law relating to it could come into operation estates under joint family had been distributed among the members of the family to avoid any loss. In the sphere of industry, efforts have been made to increase the control of the state representing the collective will of the people. In 1950-51 the state enterprises contributed only two per cent of the production in organized manufacturing industry, but by 1965-66 it is estimated to rise to twenty-five per cent. Preferential treatment is given to new people entering industry. To reduce concentration of wealth in the hands of a few persons and at a few places, an attempt is made to locate new enterprises in new places. But as yet there is no clear evidence of the benefit of these new enterprises reaching rural artisans and craftsmen. However, attention is being given to the development of rural areas through rural electrification. Various programmes have been launched to develop the weaker sections of the population, so that the existing disparities may be progressively reduced. Taking health facilities to rural areas and schemes of slum clearance in urban areas are of special importance. To improve the lot of the backward classes, there are schemes for the allotment of land, scholarships and other facilities to them. Every effort is made to create employment opportunity. But unfortunately the rapid rise in population, under-employment and unemployment continue to be distressing features. The per capita consumption of food increased from 1,800 calories per day in 1950-51 to 2,100 calories in 1960-61. The expectation of life at birth increased from 32.45 years for



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males and 31.66 years for females during 1941-51 to 41.68 years and 42.06 years respectively during 1956-61.

Programmes for development involve considerable financial outlays both governmental and private. The government outlay in the First Plan was Rs. 1,950 crores. This rose to 4,600 crores in the Second Plan. These figures do not include the contributions of local bodies from their own resources. Investment in the private sector increased from 1,800 crores in the First Plan to 3,100 crores in the Second Plan. These figures give a broad idea of the magnitude of the effort that is being put into planned development. But in hastening the speed of development and seeking to readjust social relationships considerable stresses and strains are experienced. Therefore, in many directions progress has not been as rapid and in as straight a line as the country's well-wishers would have liked it to be. Whatever may have been the purely economic value of the plan, its psychological impact was tremendous. It engendered a belief in the people that the burden of poverty could be lightened, even if it could not be lifted altogether within a short period. There is no doubt that the country has entered a new dynamic phase. With this overall picture of planned development, we shall study certain phases of planning in greater detail.

*Agriculture.* Agriculture still provides fifty per cent of the national income and serves as a means of livelihood for more than seventy per cent of the working population. Agricultural progress since the transfer of power has been spectacular. But still India has not been self-sufficient in food grains. Import of food grains has used up valuable foreign exchange. Agricultural implements are still the same old ones. There are practically no modern tractors, or other machinery except a few on large scale government farms and reclamation projects. The methods of agriculture too continue to be old-fashioned. Only the richest peasants can buy fertilizers and equipment. Rural indebtedness continues to be heavy. Under the plan the government is providing credit at low rates of interest. Attempts are made to promote the greater use of fertilizers and the formation of marketing cooperatives. The government brought under cultivation much marginal land which the ordinary cultivator had thought it wise to leave alone. The

result was that the average yields per acre of the principal crops were considerably lower in 1951 than in 1947. Thereupon the government began to pay more attention to improved methods of cultivation and laid stress on the so-called Japanese system, based on careful seed selection, ruthless destruction of poor plants, greater use of artificial fertilizers in seedling stage and proper spacing between the plants. The government provided facilities for the supply of good seeds and of fertilizers. Demonstration plots were laid out in the villages, and irrigation works were given high priority. In 1955 the production was sixty-six million tons as compared with fifty-two million tons in 1951. Thereafter, there was some flattening in the curve of progress. Recent figures, however, show that the normal outturn is seventy five million tons. "Grow More Food Campaign" was intensified. The deficiency of food grains in spite of such attempts is attributable to increase of population and increase in standards of living, as judged by greater consumption of food grains than before. Competent investigations estimated that for the foreseeable future India would need to import two to three million tons of food grains annually. It is a matter of gratification that the U.S.A. undertook to supply seventeen million tons of food grains to India during the Third Five Year Plan period (1956-61). An agricultural production scheme sponsored by the Ford Foundation studied the agricultural problem in India, in cooperation with the Indian Government. In April 1959 they reported that the yields could be at least doubled, if the cultivator used better seeds, better tools and better cultivation methods. They also pointed out that the cultivator should be helped with more credit, more fertilizers, better drainage and soil conservation and increased irrigation. They chose fifteen districts of India to demonstrate the possibility of making the land yield more. These are called "package programmes". And if successful they could be repeated in other districts and India could produce food grains enough and to spare. The bottleneck here is to secure the ready and willing cooperation of the peasants. Those who work among them now seem to enjoy little prestige and authority. There is need for outstanding leaders to take up the work of stimulating the peasants to adopt better methods of cultivation.

Closely connected with agricultural development are irrigation

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and power schemes which formed a main feature of the First and Second Five Year Plan. We have already seen that the power generating capacity of India was comparatively negligible. Another fact is that, in spite of the great development of irrigation during the twentieth century, only about six per cent of the annual flow in the rivers was utilized for irrigation. The planners thought in terms of great storage dams which could be used for the generation of electricity as well as for irrigation. At this time the Tennessee Valley Scheme of the U.S.A. had caught the imagination of the educated Indians. Therefore, there was a demand for the initiation of multi-purpose river schemes. The most important multi-purpose schemes which were initiated were the Bhakra-Nangal Project on the Sutlej, the Damodar Valley Scheme and the Hirakud Dam Project. The Bhakra-Nangal Project utilizes the waters of the Sutlej in the Punjab for irrigation facilities and generating power. The State Government of Punjab and Rajasthan worked it out to completion in 1963. The Bhakra-Nangal Project will also make power available to Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. The Damodar Valley Project was started in 1948 and is scheduled to be completed by the end of the Third Plan. This project when completed will give continuous employment to 5,376 persons. Various benefits will accrue as a result of the completion of this project such as controlling floods, production of two crops in a year, increase in the area under irrigation, providing electric power to exploit the rich mineral resources of the region and to help the running of key industries like mica, iron, aluminium, etc. The Hirakund Project started in 1948 was expected to be complete in 1963-64. This project consists of a Dam for storing 6.6 million acre-feet of water and powerhouses generating a large amount of electricity. This harnesses the waters of the Mahanadi and is calculated to give relief to Orissa in times of failure of rain. Many other similar projects are being worked out. Although so many projects have been worked out, village India is still in the kerosene lamp stage and only about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the towns and villages with populations of less than ten thousand have an electric supply.

*Land Reform.* We have already referred to the abolition of the Zamindari system and the Land Ceiling Act. Mrs. Kusum Nair in her book on village life observes: "Though since 1947 India has

enacted perhaps more land reforms legislation than any other country in the world, it has not succeeded in changing in any essentials the power pattern, the deep economic disparities nor the traditional hierarchical nature of intergroup relations."

Small size of holdings in land is one of the factors that debars agricultural progress. With the increase in population the average size of the family holding of the land declines. The laws of inheritance in India confer rights on sons, and now on daughters as well, to equal share in the ancestral property, and this has further helped the process of reduction in the size of holdings. Recent enquiries undertaken by the Planning Commission show that a large percentage of holdings is below ten acres. This problem is further aggravated by fragmentation and in the Punjab there are instances of half an acre having been split up into less than twenty separate plots. Individual holdings lie scattered over a number of fragments each. No satisfactory solution for the problem of uneconomic holdings has so far been found. The Government of India thinks that co-operative farming can mitigate the evil. But there is resistance from cultivators. For want of better occupation the owners cling to their small pieces of land. Further, the Indian peasants with their deep traditional love of their own little plots of land refuse to join voluntarily the cooperatives, in spite of the inducement that the government offers by way of credits. In the government scheme, "pooling" is entirely voluntary but withdrawal from the pool would be permitted only under exceptional circumstances. Conservatives like the members of Swatantra Party think that there is very little difference between the India Government's cooperatives and the collectives of the communist type. This has discouraged any vigorous implementation of the cooperative farming policy.

*Industries.* India's raw material situation is very favourable for industrial development. She has the largest known deposits of high grade iron ore in the world. Her supply of coal is almost limitless; much of it, however, is not fit for coking metallurgical use except through a special process. Rapid progress has been made in respect of utilizing the coal available. India has the world's second largest reserves of bauxite for aluminium as well as ample atomic materials like thorium. She supplies most of free world's

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manganese essential to the making of steel. She supplies four-fifths of the free world's mica essential for electrical industry and she has also great hydro-electric potential. The only gap in the industrial resources of India has been petroleum. But even here important reserves have been discovered in recent years. Assam and Gujarat contain large reserves. Geological studies show that there may be a number of other important oil bearing areas.

It is difficult to describe in general terms free India's industrial progress. We may broadly indicate the development under three heads namely, the public sector, the private sector and cottage industries. Official figures show that industrial production in 1959 was twenty per cent greater than in 1955, and if the traditional industries such as cotton textiles, tea and jute were excluded, the increase would work out to fifty per cent. From 1958 onwards the rate of industrial progress has been slowed down a little, partly because of lack of demand in some industries and partly because of foreign exchange difficulties, which necessitated import restrictions. During the period of the First and Second Five Year Plans industrial production as a whole has increased by forty per cent. But it must be observed that credit for this increase should very largely go to the private sector. The public sector suffered owing to over-optimism in estimating construction times and underestimation of costs. Therefore, a large number of projects in the public sector have fallen behind the time schedule. This does not in any way detract from some remarkable achievements in this sector. The first important achievement in the public sector was the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory. "This factory is impressive and India is now self-sufficient in steam locomotives, though some component parts of them still have to be imported." The next most important development is the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals in Bihar. This was started in 1947 with the collaboration of India, the U.K and the U.S.A. and completed in 1950. Production started in October 1951. This factory is the biggest of its kind in the East, producing over 300,000 tons of Ammonium Sulphate annually. This is a sure indication that India is fast becoming fertilizer-minded, but even with additional plants of this kind fertilizer production cannot meet the needs of the country for a long time to come.

Other schemes in the public sector followed in quick succession.

Machine tools, heavy machine building plant, telephone cables, antibiotics, insecticides and newsprint all these illustrate the wide range of industries covered in the plan. We shall here refer in some detail to steel and oil.

Steps were taken in the very First Five Year Plan to push up the production of steel. Striking advance was, however, made only in the Second Five Year Plan during which the production of steel went up from less than two million tons of steel ingots in 1955-56 to 3.3 million tons of steel ingots and 1.1 million tons of pig iron for sale in 1960-61. In the Third Five Year Plan the target is for 10.2 million tons of steel ingots and 1.5 million tons of pig iron for sales. The major projects in the public sector are the steel plants at Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai.

Rourkela Plant was set up in collaboration with the German firms Krupp and Demag in 1955 and completed in 1961. The components of the plant are: three batteries of seventy coke ovens, each of which converts 1,000 tons of coal daily into coke; three blast furnaces in each of which 1,700 tons of iron ore, 1,000 tons of coke and about 500 tons of lime-stone are charged daily. The Durgapur Steel Plant has been put up with the assistance of a consortium of British firms. Work on the plant started in 1956. It is designed for an initial capacity of one million tons of steel which can subsequently be increased at a comparatively low cost. During the Third Five Year Plan the capacity is to be increased from one million to 1.6 million tons. The Bhilai Steel Plant in Madhya Pradesh is put up with technical and financial cooperation of the Government of U.S.S.R. This plant will produce one million of the steel ingots and finished products like rails, railway sleepers, bars, etc. Pig iron to the tune of 300,000 tons will be produced annually.

The general trend in steel production has been one of gradual increase. Against the production of 1.04 million tons in 1951 the figure of output during 1956 and 1957 respectively were 1.34 and 1.35. The progress of steel production was hampered because of insufficient attention to building up raw material base, for example, shortage in the supply of good quality of coking coal resulted not only in the curtailment of production, but also in the increase of the cost of production. Outside observers are very critical of the administrative arrangement for the new steel plants. It is said

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that there has been too much centralization and too little attention to costs. There is again the lack of efficient experienced Indian managers and senior technicians. The Government of India has continued to employ foreign personnel but find it difficult to secure them in sufficient number. Even the critics admit the wisdom of constructing these three plants which are calculated to save considerable foreign exchange. Difficulties that the steel industry is facing are only of a temporary character and most of them can be surmounted. There is every hope that before long India can attain the foremost position among the great producers of steel. The possibilities of development of North East India as a steel producing centre are so great that someone recently remarked: "Here an Indian Ruhr is in its making."

The development of the oil industries has been hampered by insistence of government for a long time that the expansion of refining and distribution of oil should be confined to the public sector. In 1959 a new company called Oil India Ltd., was founded. In this the Government of India holds one-third of the equity capital and the Burma Oil Company two-thirds. The aim of this company is to develop the new field, and to build the pipe line for conveying the oil to two new refineries constructed by the Government of India, with assistance from Russia and Rumania. India's requirements of oil at the beginning of Second Five Year Plan amounted to seven million tons. Only four hundred thousand were available from local production. The Nahorkatiya field in Assam is expected to produce two and half million to five million tons annually so that half of India's needs will be met from the local production. The new refineries will increase India's capacity by about fifty per cent to a figure of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  million tons in terms of crude petroleum, which is roughly equal to India's present need.

Machine building requires mention. To manufacture the much needed heavy electrical equipment and machinery the government has set up a factory (Heavy Electricals Ltd.) at Bhopal. The government entered into an agreement with a Swiss firm to set up a machine tool factory called Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., at Jalahalli, Bangalore, to make the country self-sufficient.

Although the taxation is high, the private sector is abounding

in vitality. Partly under the influence of protection and partly as a result of collaboration between the British and foreign industrialists, there has been a great expansion in the private sector. Those who were formerly only traders and financiers have shown a readiness and willingness to enter the industrial field. It is impossible to detail the great diversification in industry during the plan period. But we may say that the development has been well balanced. Industries of particular importance in India's development are those concerned with engineering, heavy chemicals, metallurgy and cement. In all these fields there has been a remarkable expansion. Nevertheless, substantial import is still necessary, pointing to the need for further expansion. The demand for cement is almost unlimited, and the satisfactory progress which has been made in this industry is of great importance to the whole economy.

The large new steel plants have made steel available at low cost. This has stimulated the development of small industries. Many small industrial enterprises, completely in private hands, have sprung up to produce such articles as bicycle parts, cardboard boxes, matches, shoes, carpets, umbrella ribs, aluminium utensils, etc. The government has been actively helping these small-scale industries, by giving them electric power, floor space in factories and other facilities at nominal cost in over a hundred locations called "industrial estates".

In respect of cotton textiles the government policy is to see that the mill industry does not hamper the handloom industry. So the government placed restrictions on any increase in the number of looms in cotton mills. Production of mill-made *dhoties* was also limited. In spite of these restrictions, total production of cotton cloth has appreciably increased. But when export market contracted production necessarily declined. However, about the year 1960 the production was thirty-three per cent higher than in 1950.

Sugar production has been a heavily protected one. At present the sugar production may be said to be equal to India's total demand. But the consumption of sugar is showing a rise in recent years, which is an indication of the general rise in the standard of living. The unsatisfactory features of this industry are the low yields of cane per acre (less than one quarter of that in Japan) and low extraction rate.



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We may on the whole say that the industrial progress has so far been satisfactory. Private enterprise has been playing a notable part in the progress. Foreign aid has also been of importance in stimulating industrial growth. It should be noted that from 1951 to 1960 external loans and grants towards the development in India amounted to over £ 2000 million. The policy of the Government of India towards cottage and small-scale industries has been somewhat hesitant. Support to these industries is a part of Gandhian tradition. These industries help India to avoid the social evils of the industrial revolution in Europe. Further, India is passing through a period of transition, when neither agriculture nor large-scale industry is able to provide anything like full employment. In the early days of independence, there were some who on sentimental grounds opposed the development of large-scale industries for fear they would hamper the development of cottage industries. Scientific enquiries of such bodies as the Ford Foundation have led the government to feel that the policy of developing large-scale industries is sound. But still there are people who are inclined to the view that the new industries should not be allowed to compete with cottage industries. It is a fact that cottage industries employ about twenty million people. Nearly a quarter of these people are engaged in the handloom industry. The government has therefore made arrangements to assist the development of small-scale industries. Their policy is to arrange production programmes, to teach improved techniques, and to make capital grants for the provision of modern equipment. Both the central government and state governments offer financial and technical assistance. The National Small Industries Corporation has been formed to secure assistance to village industries. This corporation grants credits to small units, and helps them to get machinery and equipment on hire purchase. Village industries are likely to be transformed with increased use of electric power. The attempt is to develop these small-scale units as ancillaries to large-scale industries. But it must be observed that there has been no appreciable progress in this direction. The necessity for the development of these small-scale industries and village crafts must be conceded in the present transition period of the Indian economy.

*Community Development.* There is a growing awareness that without improving the position of her villages, India cannot make any progress. The State, through the community development programme, has been doing its best to put the people on the path of self-help. It was quite fitting that the programme was launched on Gandhiji's birthday, 2 October 1952. The aim of this programme is that each village should have a plan of all round development; of increasing agricultural production, organizing village crafts, giving health education and providing minimum health services, providing educational facilities for children and adults, providing recreational facilities, improving housing and family living conditions and providing programmes for women, children, youth and other similar groups. Each family should also have a plan for its own development. There is evidence to show that tangible benefits have accrued to the rural population in those villages, where there has been hearty cooperation between the villagers and the departmental officials, in working out the community development project. According to Dr. D.R. Gadgil, an eminent economist, the community development scheme has not borne the desired results, because, "characteristically, it originated with a foreign expert, and was sponsored and worked through top-level bureaucrats". An official investigating body admits that the community development has failed to "evoke popular initiative". Concerted measures to improve the situation have not so far been successful. It is clear that there is much to be done to make it a people's programme from being an official programme. And as V.P. Nayar observes "the success of this transformation will determine the degree to which democracy succeeds in India and the fruits of economic development reach the poorest of the poor". The economic regeneration of India very largely depends on the speed and efficiency with which science and technology are adapted to the creation of tempting opportunities for enterprising village artisans who are at present unorganized and isolated in their traditional setting.

*Unemployment.* Large-scale and small-scale industries, both public and private, have been started in large numbers. But still the unemployment problem has assumed distressing dimensions. In

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1951 there were three million people unemployed in India, in 1961 the number of unemployed rose three times, i.e. nine million. This may not be large in consideration of the total rise of population to 439 million. We are told that in U.S. with a population of 180 million it is not unusual for four or five million to be unemployed. But the problem in India is accentuated by the fact that an additional fifteen to eighteen million people are "under-employed". In other countries it is usual to include those who do not find high enough wages to support themselves, among the unemployed. A peculiarly tragic situation in India is that those who have had high school and sometimes even college education are not able to find jobs. This problem of "educated unemployed" still remains to be satisfactorily tackled.

*Education.* There has been a phenomenal quantitative expansion in education at all levels, in the post independence period. In the decade 1950-51 to 1960-61 the number of students increased from 23.5 million to 43.5 million. The right to knowledge is no longer the preserve of a small section of the community. The British system of education in spite of its drawbacks did good to a class of people to whom education and enlightenment has never been a new experience. To the few that sought education then it did not matter in what language the medium of instruction was. Now sons of the shopkeepers, artisans and cultivators who a generation ago had been content to follow their traditional occupation flock to schools and colleges. India today has an increased number of universities, with more than one million students seeking higher education. Most of them would profit more, if instruction in colleges were imparted through the medium of the regional language, provided, of course, competitive examinations for All India Services are conducted in a common national language. The major point for our consideration is whether attempts are being made to correlate education with the requirements of planning, in order that the country may have a growing body of able men to administer its increasingly complex affairs. The Third Five Year Plan eloquently observes that education is at the base of "the effort to forge the bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people, and to develop the natural and human resources of every part of the country".

In spite of the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission, popularly called the Mudaliar Commission Report, nothing tangible has been done to give education a new purpose and direction. It is hoped that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, if properly implemented, will satisfactorily solve our educational problems. The greatest need of our country is technical workshops in most of our secondary schools and colleges, so that rural education may be industry-oriented and the increasing movement of people from villages to cities may be checked. The criticism that British India Educational System "has fostered a sophisticated, over-literary mind, promoted drift from the manual to the soft occupations and blocked an adaptive social and economic transformation" is not at all an exaggeration. Higher education at present unfortunately dovetails into politics. While we grant that denial of opportunities is really discrimination, we must emphasise that recognition of talent is not. India has staked her future on her economic plans. Discerning foreign observers are very hopeful of the success of the plans. The memorandum published by the United States Business International Group in November 1951, after its visit to India, gives ten reasons in support of its conviction that India is a safe and rewarding place for foreign investment. The document says that "there is a genuine desire among many business leaders in the free world to allocate a part of their human and material resources for raising the living standards of the people of India in ways that only private enterprise can achieve. The people of India are more than a market, more than neighbours in need. They hold in their hands the destiny of the whole of South Asia and perhaps of the free world itself."

*Social Progress*

THE social progress of a nation is to some extent a by-product of economic development. However, certain aspects of it require special treatment. The people of India have after independence shown an awareness of their own backwardness and a consciousness of their own needs. India's vast population is at once a strength and weakness. Recognizing this the Government of India have been trying to maximize the contribution of every citizen through the national effort at development. Considerable emphasis is laid on the development of human resources through increased facilities for education, health and social welfare.

The Third Five Year Plan says :

....in all directions, the pace of development will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works, and the cooperation which it evokes. The

tasks facing the administration are larger in magnitude and more complex, but also richer in meaning than in earlier days. From the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue, the major emphasis now shifts to the development of human and material resources and the elimination of poverty and want.

We may say that the Government of India is determined to reach the plan targets, with the aid of a competent and honest staff. To set up a body of officials who are competent, honest and efficient in the discharge of their duties is exclusively an Indian task. For in this there can be no foreign participation.

We have already briefly referred to the radical change necessary in the system of education, to suit the conditions in our developing country. Griffith observes: "Despite the efforts of individual officers the British had been less successful in the sphere of education than in any other department. A self-governing India thus has a great task ahead of her in this field." The Report of the Indian Education Commission, is calculated to give the desirable new direction to education at different levels.

In the Second Five Year Plan a good deal of attention had been given to what is called social education. To cure the illiteracy of three quarters of adult population, the Congress Party realized that it was not possible to wait and let juvenile education play its part in course of time. So the Party started a vigorous campaign of adult education, but soon found that the results were disappointing, for the adults quickly relapsed into illiteracy. The Planning Commission therefore widened the concept of adult education and included citizenship training and enlightened use of leisure in the course designed. In each district at least one primary school was turned into a community centre, but the experiment has for long remained in the pioneering stage. A Central Welfare Board was constituted. Its three primary functions were provision of financial and technical assistance to voluntary organizations engaged in the welfare of women, children (normal and handicapped) and delinquents, initiation of projects to enable women and others to supplement their income and training welfare personnel (*gramasevikas*) for the spread of modern ideas of hygiene and child welfare among villagers. The most important

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work of these village workers in the words of V.T. Krishnamachari is "to change the outlook of the sixty million families living in the countryside, arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life and fill them with the ambition and the will to live a better life". Experience shows that attempts at social education have not so far given very satisfactory results.

The Planning Commission has put much emphasis on measures for the improvement of medical and health services. Subject to the limiting factor of finance, much good work has been done in this field after the transfer of power, largely because firm foundations had been laid in this than in the field of education, by the British Government. In the decade of the first two plans hospital beds rose from 113,000 to 186,000 and doctors from 56,000 to 70,000, but yet we have only one doctor for every 6000 people, nor are beds sufficient to meet the needs.

We have already referred to the position of consumption of food and clothing per capita. Housing is an important tool for measuring the economic well-being of a people. The increase in population has greatly aggravated the problem of housing. In villages houses continue to be ill-built and overcrowded. No regard for sanitation, ventilation or comfort has yet been paid in most villages. Slum clearance in cities has not been as effective as expected. Pavement dwellers have increased in number in large cities. Land values in the cities have shot up to unimaginable heights. The Government asserts her faith in the work of cooperative house building societies. Town planning laws have to be suitably modified if cooperative housing activities should produce better results. Housing is an age-old problem and it is impossible to solve it in the course of ten or fifteen years. The point to be noted is that increase in the population has greatly neutralized the gains made under the successive Five Year Plans.

To check the growth of population, the message of family planning is carried to the countryside. The family planning scheme cannot produce the intended results, without a regular supply of the necessary appliances to people desirous of limiting the size of the family. The report of the census of India points out "although our mortality is low by former standards, our morbidity is nevertheless distressingly high". Unregulated additions to the popu-

lation will only add to the already existing morbidity. More children means feeding more persons who cannot contribute to production. It then becomes impossible to increase the wealth of a nation. In the present circumstances the purchasing power can only remain stagnant or go down. In his inaugural address to the Second Indian Conference on Research in National Income (31 August 1950) the then Governor of Reserve Bank of India, H.V.R. Iyengar said:

It is conceivable that, while the per capita income is going up, the standard of living of large sectors of the population might be stationary or might even be going down. In fact, one of the criticisms sometimes made of our economic programme is precisely this, that the figures showing a rise in per capita income disguise the fact of economic stagnation for the bulk of our rural population.

Although there is no active opposition to family planning, most people have chosen to be indifferent to it.

During the last seventeen years India has sought to effect radical changes in the laws related to marriage, succession and women's right to property so that the country may be brought on a level with modern societies in Western countries. It was Mahatma Gandhi's view that laws promulgated should be such as people would readily and willingly obey. The effect of laws calculated to bring about social reforms has still to be evaluated. One thing is certain. The village societies are now being shaken up. The policy of decentralization and the institution of *Panchayati Raj* entrusted with some political and economic initiative, would, it is hoped, weld together the different social groups in villages and create a new social order. The old status-dominated society is in the process of being transformed into an egalitarian democratic community. To what extent the belief that handicrafts are broadly caste occupations and that any financial support given to them would only perpetuate the caste system is responsible for the niggardly treatment given to cottage industries deserves examination. It is well to bear in mind that progress can be achieved only when there is an effective compromise between traditional caste



organization and the socialism of the Government of India. We may say that in India, at present, there are no convinced advocates of caste. There is none upholding untouchability. Special opportunities for pulling up the backward classes are welcomed. But the special privileges and concessions afforded to backward classes are such that there is a tendency among them to continue to call themselves backward, for nothing more than receiving the benefits. Of course, poverty is at the root of this psychology in them.

The state has assumed the role of moral preacher by the enactment of laws relating to prohibition, use of gold and the elimination of brothels. These are matters in which effective public opinion more than laws can produce desirable results. So far as prohibition is concerned it is admittedly a failure. It must be owned that efforts of social reformers and legislative measures for ushering in conditions favourable for the development of socialism are meeting with silent and unseen resistance of age-long custom. It will indeed take a very long time for inter-caste marriages to be common in India. The development of trade union movement may be cited as an instance for the growth of socialism. But the Government of India, as already observed, has left very little initiative to labour organizations to get practice in collective bargaining.

It is realized that the public sector and the private sector should work in unison for realizing the ideals of socialist economy. But the public ownership of industries is ordinarily charged with "lack of imagination, rigidity, disregard of human considerations dilatoriness and, of course, wastefulness and lack of what is called cost consciousness". The private sector, though it has shown greater efficiency than the public sector, has also its own difficulties and drawbacks in respect of size, hierarchy of command, control and chronic conflict between labour and management. More than all it has no obligation to render an account for the manner in which it exercises its powers and privileges. Confirmed socialists are urging a reappraisal of the whole position including the industrial policy of the government. They call for measures which will prevent socialism being used as "a cover for the pursuit of acquisitive private interest". The attempts of plans to reduce the disparities between the high income and low income groups

preventing concentration of economic power and working for the welfare of all should be assessed, in the context of the situation obtaining both in the public and private sectors.

The most significant feature of Indian social life after Independence arises out of a combination of the idea of secular state and the principles of socialist economy. Side by side with the secular promise there can be seen a strengthening of religious faith among all classes of people. For example, the first *Kumbh mela* after Independence, a festival that occurs once in twelve years, attracted more than five million pilgrims to Allahabad. Every year there has been a growing number of pilgrims to places like Badarinath, Gaya, Tirupati and Rameswaram. The religious feeling that is evidenced is neither dogmatic nor sectarian, but moved by deep faith. In the post-Independence period the life and activities of such saints as Ramana Maharshi, Aurobindo, Anandamoyee Devi and Sivananda have attracted wider attention than ever before. There is a persistent desire on the part of the Hindus to rebuild the temples destroyed by the Muslims. Many castes which had been considered low in rank have definitely come up in the social scale, although caste continues to throw its shadow on the social scene. The superiority of the Brahmanās is not accepted by anyone today. Other communities have displaced the Kashathriyas and the Vaisyas. Social progress has meant allowing power to get into the hands of the working class.

The prevalence of casteism in politics cannot easily be dismissed as Panikkar does by saying: "This accusation comes mainly from the higher castes whose privileged position in society, official life and politics, is being threatened by the awakening of the new classes." The Vanniyakula Kashatriyas of Madras feel that they have not had their share of political power compared to the Mudaliars and Nadars. In Rajasthan the ascendancy of the Jat caste has been causing concern to the Rajputs. In the Andhra the Reddies and Kammas are vying with one another for capturing political power. In Karnatak the Lingayat and the Okkiligas form rival groups. There are still some who observe that the Brahmanās in the South and Kayasthas in the North continue to be holding influential positions. In U.P. there is a special problem of the Muslims who are dispossessed of their *jagirs*. Although

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the Muslims form a minority, still their total strength is forty million scattered over different parts of India. They are naturally affected by the form of Hindu revivalism. To bring about a healthy social relationship among the communities belonging to a plural society is by no means an easy matter.

With the abolition of *zamins* and *jagirs* and the integration of states, feudalism based on princely privilege and hereditary land-ownership disappeared altogether. But the hierarchical character of Indian society only underwent a change. The Maharajas, Nawabs and other titled nobilities could no longer claim social leadership, and remained in their palaces and bungalows, hiding their diminished heads. The new millionaires, the so called industrial magnates, with vast patronage at their disposal stepped into the place vacated by the nobilities. This seemed to be a real danger, for it was easy for them to acquire political power as an adjunct to their financial empire. The control of the newspaper press in particular passed into the hands of industrial magnates. Some of them even sought to build up political connections with party leaders. The government were not slow to check this development by their system of taxation. They levied a crippling supertax at higher levels of income. An expenditure tax, a wealth tax, succession duties, gift tax—all these together with a stricter administration of Company Laws prevented the concentration of wealth in a few hands to a great extent. The joint family ownership of land has gone but this has now been replaced by a similar ownership of industrial concerns, in spite of the severity of the Acts, rules and regulations.

Let us now turn to the position of women after independence. On the position and influence of women in Indian society in the past much nonsense has been written by ill-informed European writers who have been astonished at their progress in recent years and attribute it altogether to the influence of the West or of Christianity. Indians, accustomed as they have been to take a balanced view, are not surprised at the rapid change that has come over the position of women after independence. During the non-cooperation movement, women vied with men in exhibiting their spirit of self-sacrifice. The Constitution of India gave women equal political rights with men and opened up avenues of employment. The

Hindu Code superceded the traditional personal laws of Hindus. This has the potentiality of bringing about a revolutionary change in the position of women. According to it, marriage was made a civil contract, polygamy was abolished and divorce was permitted under certain well-defined conditions. Caste restrictions in respect of marriage were done away with. A uniform law was enacted for all Hindus. The law of succession was changed so as to give women right to inherit a share in the family property. Thus the legal rights of Indian women are now much the same as those in the most advanced European societies. The question to be asked is; "Has the social climate changed to reflect these trends?" Marriages are still, even in the case of educated family, arranged by parents, and governed by traditional caste restrictions. However, in higher circles of society intercaste marriages are not frowned upon by society or disowned by relatives. Quantitatively there has been relatively more progress in the higher education of women than in the earlier period. The Act relating to dowries is observed more in its breach than in its observance. Therefore, to pay for the education of girls besides providing for their marriages and dowry on a conventional scale presents at present a hard economic problem for the parent.

Today women are functioning as ministers, deputy-ministers, secretaries, and under-secretaries in the government. A few exceptionally brilliant women compete for the foreign service. The majority of educated women limit themselves to the professions of teaching and medicine. There are a few who choose law. Increasing numbers of women seek employment in business firms as secretaries and clerks. Politics attract a few women. It is women in industry that are generally uneducated, and very soon these women too will have the benefit of education. The arts of music and dancing engage women's attention as ever. The social reformers in the second half of nineteenth century considered dancing to be a degenerate and immoral art. At the beginning of the twentieth century that opinion began to change. The cinema industry has drawn educated women from some good families. There is a revival of Indian classical dancing. In spite of all these changes in the status of women, it must be observed, that most Indian women remain conservative in their approach to life. They

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quietly accept traditional ways of life, resisting the impact of changing ideas.

In the fields of art and literature there has been a great deal of progress, and it is not possible to give any satisfactory review of them here. Broadly stated, in the literature of different Indian languages secularity, copiousness, variety and vitality have characterized the writings and contact has been established through English language not only with the literature of England but with that of European countries. The forms of novels, drama, short story and essay have been adopted everywhere in India and new experiments tried in the creation of verse forms. The Government of India has brought into being several academies to promote art, literature and science. Titles and national awards are given every year to persons who have distinguished themselves in art or literature or by their social services to the country. Musicians, literary men and teachers are given national awards for distinguished service in their respective fields.

The policy of the Government of India is to bring about a total improvement in the life of individuals through their plans. Much that formerly belonged to the sphere of the family has now been taken over by the government. In every department of activity Jawaharlal Nehru in his period of seventeen years of prime ministership gave the imprint of his personality. The death of Jawaharlal Nehru on 27 May 1964 marks the end of an era in India. It is impossible to estimate the loss that India sustained by the death of Nehru who was really a much bigger man than a national leader. His one desire was to make India dynamic and to give a new meaning and purpose to the sapless life he saw around him. No creed or dogma could claim his allegiance if it offended against the dignity of man. As Kulkarni says: "Nehru's was indeed a world presence, and mankind is the poorer without him."

*National Integration*

*Cultural Renaissance.* The cultural renaissance which forms the background of socio-economic improvement through the Five Year Plans should be clearly understood for a proper perspective of the history of India in the post-independence period. Here we can only briefly touch upon some important trends in India's cultural renaissance. The mass movement started by Gandhi was no doubt greatly responsible for hastening the attainment of political independence. But that the movement was led by the elite of the nation should always be kept in mind. Till the end of eighteenth century the Indian elite consisted of a few of the princes, nobles, merchants and top castes and was entirely mediaeval in character. In the nineteenth century owing to the impact of modern education it passed through several metamorphoses. At first it was strongly Westernized; then it attempted a synthesis between Indian and Western cultures. Here again the impact

of the West was a predominant feature. The third phase of development marks a period of national upsurge, when there was a concerted attempt to exclude Western influence. In this phase, the influences of democratic liberalism were powerfully checked. Great writers sprang up in different parts of the country. A spirit of nationalism pervaded almost every section of the community. The battle for freedom was fought by the elite which then more than ever before was closest to the masses. We may call this a creative period. But unfortunately after independence there was a waning of the spirit, and the directing classes showed adherence to contrary values. A very large section of the population somehow or other began to lose their grip on the national heritage, and a small minority became militantly revivalist. The distance between the elite and the masses, far from being reduced, became widened and the support that Nehru gave to what is called 'Kamaraj Plan' (that of ministers at the centre and in states resigning voluntarily to contact the masses and strengthen the Congress) has to be understood in this context. It is better to avoid an appraisal of the plan at present, because it is still bound up with personality clashes and power politics. The intelligentsia as constituted at present has to be changed "in quality, composition, in academic heights and in creativity". Happily it is no longer restricted to a few of the privileged classes: it includes persons belonging to all castes and different strata of society. But the educational system has not yet sufficiently improved to identify talent in all areas and help to promote its growth. It may reasonably be expected that the Indian elite, at least the best among them, should be comparable to their compeers in any other progressive country. Frankly, we believe that there is much to be done to increase the number of intellectuals in our country. We wonder why after the period of struggle for independence the creative era of the Indian intellectual should have receded. Unless the educational system tackles seriously the most difficult task of ensuring quality and creativity cultural renaissance cannot pay good dividends. We are at present largely dependent on external sources not only for financial and military help, but also for scientific knowledge and technical knowhow. One of the unforeseen tendencies of the Indian democracy is that a considerable number of those whom we

would call non-elite have got into positions of power. This need not be grudged to them, but it is regrettable to note that they do not seem to have accepted the need for anything like intellectual guidance. There is no doubt that somehow a break-through will come. The days when the country could rely on a few great men are gone, and with Browning we pray: "Make no more giants God! Raise up the whole race at once."

During the period of struggle for independence the educated community was suspected of aiding the Britisher in the exploitation of the masses. The masses were later to a great extent satisfied that the elite finally revolted against the British authority and won freedom to the country. And after the attainment of independence the educated section appears to have fallen into disfavour with the masses, so that the task of establishing a proper relationship between the elite and the masses has become urgent. One other feature of the cultural renaissance should be noted. It has drawn more from Western literature and democratic liberalism than from modern science and technology, and India can resuscitate herself only when a modern society with a predominantly scientific outlook is ushered into existence. Science and philosophy are not antithetical. There is indeed more culture in agriculture than that which ordinarily meets the eye.

As J.P. Naik, a great educationist observes:

... what we need is an educational system which will not only preserve our cultural heritage but also continually modify it by a judicious process of commissions, additions and modifications to suit new situations and challenges. This is not difficult for Hindus because, as Dr. Radhakrishnan has pointed out, Hinduism is not a *position*, but a *movement*. Muslims have stronger resistances on this point. But they too cannot but cultivate the humility to seek truth from outside. The conceptualization of this new form of cultural renaissance and to carry these new concepts to the masses is the responsibility of the educational system.<sup>1</sup>

*National Integration.* National integration is one of the most important of India's national goals. This is sometimes called

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Planning in India*, p. 101, Allied Publishers Private Ltd.



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emotional integration. But "integration" in the national or emotional context does not admit of any satisfactory explanation. Love and hatred are emotional expressions which can never be integrated. Hindus and Muslims have lived over 700 years together. Yet there has been no social integration. The idea behind national integration is to bring about unity which makes the plural society in India a nation. The fundamental requisite is the recognition of unity in diversity. This is necessary for national development as well as for defence against foreign aggression. Economic equality and equitable distribution of wealth and power are basic in a democratic structure.

Boundary disputes due to regionalism, anti-Hindi agitation from narrow lingualism and more than all Hindu-Muslim riots so disturbed the mind of Nehru that he was bent upon evolving a plan to put an end to fissiparous tendencies. A conference of the Chief Ministers of the States and leaders of all non-communal parties met under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. This conference discussed the problem of divisive forces at length and finally resolved upon a programme of action to bring about greater national integration. We have already said that anything like social integration among the religious communities in India and more particularly between the Hindus and Muslims is an impossibility. All that can be expected is to promote a high sense of loyalty to India, a loyalty that would sacrifice narrow communal interests for the good of the country as a whole. Except a few communists who have extra-territorial loyalty, all others do have a sense of loyalty to India. There may however be a small section of Muslims who may feel drawn towards Pakistan and therefore have a sense of divided loyalty. Since Independence the University of Aligarh has been gradually advancing towards secularism. Even that section of Tamil people which demanded a separate independent state gave it up and demonstrated their Indianness during the time of Chinese aggression.

There is no problem in India of breaking external ties as in the case of the United States. The United States have developed into a multi-ethnic state in a remarkably short time. The Americans are one, so far as their relation with other countries is concerned. But it cannot be said that the United States is

altogether free from regional and group tensions. The problem of the Negroes in the Southern States is still giving trouble. In the Second World War the Japanese-Americans were evacuated to less sensitive areas as it was feared that they might be disloyal. Much has been done to keep the Jews loyal to the U.S.A. by extending political liberties and giving opportunities for economic prosperity. In spite of it all the Jewish allegiance to a world-wide community remains strong as ever. Race riots are by no means uncommon in the U.S.A. There is resistance to liberal racial policies of the federal Government. Racial segregation is common. The Americans are not altogether free from anti-semitic feelings. All these show that the national and emotional integration even in the U.S.A. is not quite complete. India's troubles arise out of the pluralistic nature of her society. It would take some time for the Muslims to reconcile themselves that they are a minority community who have to adjust themselves to the Hindus who form a majority. They realize that India is a secular state and that they have equal political rights with the Hindus. All that they have got to do is to discard the sense of superiority arising out of a feeling that they had once been the rulers of the land. The Muslim society has been exclusive and will continue to be so for a long time. The orthodox Hindu in spite of his religious tolerance has an innate revulsion for the non-Hindu which cannot easily be detected. The Hindu-Muslim relationship is therefore one major problem of the national integration. The Muslims who have stayed behind in the Gangetic valley find it difficult to forget the past and to reconcile themselves to the concept of a secular India. The Hindus, particularly of the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, find it difficult to accept the view that the Muslims there are not emotionally committed to Pakistan. But as time passes we may be sure that a general tolerance of each other's ideals will prevail, and the loyalty of Muslims to India will grow stronger and stronger. History shows that Islam and Hinduism have influenced each other in marginal ways such as the formation of certain religious sects and Indo-Islamic art and architecture. So national integration in respect of Muslims only means friendly collaboration with the rest of the community and loyalty to India. An exclusive society like that of the Muslims cannot merge its identity

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with the wider Indian community.

As for regionalism there is no democratic country in the world that is absolutely free from it. Indian regionalism cannot stand in the way of India's integration. The Swiss confederation is made up of small states based on the acceptance of the value of regional feeling. In federations like Germany and Soviet Union, regionalism is a well-marked and accepted characteristic so long as the primacy of the national interest is recognized. If there is no dominance of one area over another in India there is no fear of regionalism developing into dangerous proportions. India is a multi-lingual country. A democracy, particularly of the federal form, must encourage the growth of regional languages not only to safeguard local interests but also to prevent dissatisfaction from taking root. The dangers of regionalism in India arise from the fact that there are certain areas and groups which at present enjoy more than their share of power, and opportunities for industrial development. But a wise policy of the federal government can surely allay fears in this regard. The creation of linguistic provinces is regarded as a mistake by some, but it is difficult to see how the language problem can seriously interfere with national unity. However, enthusiasm for one's regional language should not stand in the way of the development of other sister languages. Very much depends on the caution, circumspection and adjustability that the Hindi speaking areas bring to bear on the language problem, for they are at present impatient to make Hindi the official language of India to the exclusion of English. Educationists complain that national integration has so far remained only as an abstract concept and that no work has been done at the level of educational technology to concretize the idea.

## CHAPTER

## 16

*Prospect*

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that India is the scene of a great experiment in democracy. After 1947 there has been a remarkable change in the attitude of the Indian people towards life and its problems. Western writers who had been sceptical about India's capacity to change were struck with wonder at the rapid strides she took in the decade following independence. The question often asked is: "Can the enthusiasm generated be sustained and the democracy be of enduring value?" Several writers, both Indian and foreign, have attempted to estimate India's progress after independence. All agree that India is well set for carrying on successfully the experiment in democracy. There are, however, a few who fear that a possible revival of the traditions of a caste-bound society might adversely affect the growth of a parliamentary system of responsible government. Indian ideas of freedom, equality and government by consent

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with the participation of all sections of the community are not all borrowings but are partly based, in some form or other, on traditions of ancient Indian Republic and the *Panchayati Raj* that had been extensively in vogue from very early times to the day of the withdrawal of Britain from India. Further, the people had considerable training in shouldering civic and legislative responsibilities during the later half of the British period.

To make a proper appraisal of the Indian socio-political experiment one must be thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of history with reference to the belief in a law of progress and its value as a factor in human development. We do not here propose to burden the reader with any discussion on this topic. Suffice it to say that the people of India believe that their country will progress rapidly towards social and economic uplift. India has decided on the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. At present, it is not possible to give a complete picture of what exactly this goal envisages. But the idea of a socialistic pattern of society, however nebulous, has proved itself valuable as a kind of tonic to keep up the courage and vitality of the government and the people, in their socio-economic effort. In estimating the progress of India each writer is guided by his own point of view of progress. Those with leanings towards Western democracies study the possibilities of democracy taking root in India, so as to stem the tide of advancing communism. Those with communist leanings fondly hope that the advocacy of state ownership in certain spheres of industry might in time develop into a kind of socialism which may not be far different from communism. India by following her policy of non-alignment has afforded scope for the two rival blocs, opportunities for improvement of their relations with her in trade and commerce and for exchange of cultural missions. Probably, there is no country in the world that has so clearly seen the danger in man's power over nature as India, guided by a long line of sages and philosophers, the latest of whom is Mahatma Gandhi. India realizes that the growth of man's control over nature should be accompanied by a parallel growth of control over himself. Western thinkers admit that this recognition is the only way of reducing the evils of rank materialism. At the moment, however, India's pre-occupation is with improvement in the

standard of living and the reduction of the abnormal disparity between the few rich and the innumerable poor. In her attempt to secure a reasonable share of good things of this world for her poverty stricken people, India has constantly kept before her the spirit of the words with which S. Radhakrishnan, now the President of India, concludes his essay on Hinduism:

In my travels round the country and abroad I have learnt that there are thousands of men and women to-day who are hungry to hear the good news of the birth of a new order, eager to do and dare, ready to make sacrifices that a new society may be born, men and women who dimly understand that the principles of a true religion, of a just social order, of a great movement of generosity in human relations, domestic and industrial, economic and political, national and international, are to be found in the basic principles of the Hindu religion. Their presence in growing numbers is the pledge for the victory of the powers of light, life, and love over those of darkness, death and discord.

We may add that the basic principles of other religions such as Islam and Christianity are quite in consonance with Hinduism in this respect, although the votaries of each religion may wrangle over some non-essential differences in religious practices. India is out, not only to improve her agriculture by the use of machinery and chemical fertilizers but also to industrialize the country avoiding the protracted misery to which the workers had been submitted in the period of Industrial Revolution in Western Europe.

Afro-Asian nations that have won their independence are legitimately proud of their achievement. However, their pride is humbled at the thought that the value of independence is considerably lessened by the necessity of their having to depend on advanced countries of the West, for military equipment to safeguard their frontiers and for financial help for educational, agricultural and industrial development. More than all, they have still to learn from Western countries scientific knowledge and technical knowhow.

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Keith Callard writing about Pakistan mentions the conditions under which democracy develops:

Democracy has usually developed in countries where there is a reasonable degree of material prosperity and where class or sectional divisions are not intense. Further, some security from the prospect of foreign aggression is necessary in order to permit the luxury of active opposition which attempts to frustrate the policies of the government. War, or the imminence of war always acts to curtail freedom and open opposition becomes next door to treason.

In spite of experiencing all the disadvantages mentioned in the above extract, India seems to be well on its way to establishing a working democracy. At the time of partition anarchy reigned supreme. The Government of India succeeded in putting an end to it and restoring order. A new Government with Cabinet responsibility was established. A successful war was fought in Kashmir. There was a Communist insurrection which was promptly put down. Millions of refugees were rehabilitated. The most difficult task of absorbing the princely states into the Indian Union was accomplished. A new constitution formed by the Constituent Assembly was adopted. Elections were held and the governments both at the Centre and in the States began to function with a Cabinet form of Government. These successes, which at first sight seem almost incredible, are clear enough proof of something of the mettle of the nation.

The question whether Indian democracy will be on all fours with the British or American type of democracy, is often posed. And what Jawaharlal Nehru said, perhaps in an incautious moment, is adduced as proof of the unsuitability of Western mode of democracy to Indian conditions. Nehru said:

Democracy is something deeper than a political form of government—voting, election, etc. In the ultimate analysis it is a manner of thinking, a manner of action, a manner of behaviour to your neighbour... If the inner content is absent and you are just given the outer shell, well, it may not be successful.

I do not know whether I am prepared to say that the same type of democratic institution is suited to every country.... In the final analysis, you come back not to political terms, not to economic terms, but to some human terms, or if you like, spiritual terms.

From this it cannot be argued that Nehru himself had no idea of what form of government was suited to India, for the Constitution of India had defined the form of Indian Government. To all intents and purposes, Nehru was only trying to emphasize the idea that democracy is a way of life and under Indian conditions its mode may have to change. It matters very little what changes are made in the mode of democracy so long as the essentials are preserved. There is every reason to hope that democracy will be firmly implanted in India. At present the Government of India looks like 'one party government' but in time a powerful opposition party may be built up.

One of the most important characteristics of the Government of India is its secularism. We have already observed how Nehru showed his grit by spurning all attempts to make India a Hindu state.

India's attempt at economic development through the Five Year Plans has been described. Equitable distribution of wealth is a thing to be striven after. Sometimes the term "economic equality" is used in this connection. This is a figment of imagination. There is no country in the world that has attained economic equality among its people. Whatever the form of government—democratic, totalitarian or communist—inequalities in the possession of the good things of this world are bound to exist. The problem in India is grovelling poverty. There is no country in the world perhaps, where poverty is so distressing as in India. To pull up the standard of life of poor people is the most important aim of the Five Year Plans of India. It takes time to show tangible results in this direction.

Indian socialism is another point that lends itself to conflicting interpretations. There are hundreds of definitions of socialism and it is futile to attempt at an exhaustive description of the Indian form of socialism. It should, however, be pointed out that it is not communism at all. Communist China started its



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planned economy almost at the same time as India did. China's methods have been marked by fiat, coercion and forced labour. India believes in persuasion and in the willing cooperation of the people in implementing her Plans. Indian socialism is confined to state ownership in key industries and follows the principles of a welfare state. The individual's freedom is not curtailed as under communism. Controls, permits and licenses so much condemned by opposition parties have purely an economic background and mistakes made may be corrected.

In the eyes of law all are equal, irrespective of caste, creed, religion or sex. In the discussions relating to social uplift the term "social-equality" is often used. What this means is not clear. Inequalities in social status are bound to exist, whether the country is communist or democratic. Objectionable features such as untouchability have been removed by law. It will take time for people in rural areas to do away with residential segregation. The law allows inter-caste marriages. To that extent there is social equality. But it will take a long time for such marriages to become common. Even in Western countries where there is individual freedom to marry, marriages are generally restricted to families of more or less equal social status, or are governed by hereditary considerations. Very rarely does a mistress of a house permit her son to marry a parlour maid on grounds of social equality.

India is a country that has a tradition of reverencing men of character and worth, in spite of their poverty. Respect for wealth is an innovation in India. Caste barriers in respect of social intercourse have almost disappeared. A new social order is in the process of being built up. The final form, whatever it be, is bound to have certain peculiar characteristics which may be different from what may be normal in Western society. Cellular as the structure of Indian society is Indians have long been accustomed to the idea of separate and parallel living. This may be startling to a Westerner who visits India for the first time. But Indians themselves have found nothing repellent in it. Social integration of such a society should be attempted with great caution. Legislation is definitely harmful, but public opinion will be effective.

Everything possible is being done to pull up the economically and educationally backward communities in India. We have

already seen how even the constitution of India has been changed to give special opportunities for the backward sections of the community, so that they may catch up with the educationally advanced section of the community. The Government of India believes that the future of the country lies in the development of human resources, and education is the process by which character, ability and occupational skill can be brought to the masses. Attempts are being made to gear education on to the needs of a developing country.

India has started on her democratic career under circumstances more favourable than any other Asian nation that has attained independence in recent years. It is to the interests of both communist bloc and the democratic bloc to help India to survive as an independent country. She has potentialities of bringing about a wholesome combination of materialistic ideals and spiritual ideals in the pursuit of excellence. India's international relations should be understood in the context of a world torn by conflicting ideologies and broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls of economic nationalism. Conditions are such that to live in peace is to be prepared for war. India with her principles of non-aggression and co-existence finds it difficult to join any one of the two rival blocs. There is a growing realization among all the powerful nations that helping India, to preserve her independence and territorial integrity, is necessary, to make democracy safe in the Asiatic region and build up her economy. India has an honoured place in the comity of Nations.

*Indo-Pakistan Conflict*

THE hope that with the establishment of a cease-fire line in the Rann of Kutch the Indo-Pakistan conflict would be resolved by peaceful negotiation soon turned into an illusion. Kutch was only a symptom of Pakistan's hatred for India and her determination to wrest Kashmir from India by force. After the Chinese invasion of India in 1962, Pakistan began to follow the politico-military tactics of the Chinese against India. Cease-fire violations in Kashmir, adopting the method of guerilla warfare, became a common feature. There were 448 cease-fire violations in Kashmir in 1963, 1522 in 1964 and over 1,800 in 1965 to the end of July. In April 1965, Pakistan's aggressive policy met with a serious set-back in Kutch, but she sought to achieve her object by cutting Srinagar-Leh road. As this is India's life line to Ladakh, India replied by the Military occupation of two important Pakistani posts overlooking Kargil (16 May 1965). When the U.N. assured India of a closer watch

by its military observers over this crucial sector, she withdrew her armies from the two Pakistani posts.

Pakistani documents that fell into the hands of Indian military officials gave clear proof of Pakistan's deliberate plan of seizing Kashmir. This put India on her guard. When armed Pakistanis in civilian clothes crossed the cease-fire line in thousands and mixed with the native population of Kashmir on the Indian side, the second invasion of Kashmir may be said to have begun (4 August, 1965). India owes reliable information of Pakistani infiltration to one Mohammed Din, a shepherd, whose name deserves mention in history. He was bribed by Pakistani military officials to supply them with information regarding the location of Indian grain stores, transport depots, etc., so that they might destroy them. Mohammed Din was too clever for them and as soon as he was free he alerted the police about the presence of 'out soldiers'. However, Pakistani infiltration went on steadily from 5 August; the Kashmir Muslims gave the infiltrators no quarter, and the Indian army men dealt severely with such as they were able to recognize as infiltrators. Referring to incidents of 7-8 August in the Baramula sector General Nimmo, chief of the U.N. observer team, reported that "the observers interviewed one of the captured raiders who stated that he was a soldier of the 16th 'Azad Kashmir' infantry and that the raiding party was composed of about three hundred soldiers of his battalion and hundred *mujahids* (armed civilians trained in guerrilla tactics)".

In the Poonch sector, according to U.N. observers, the Pakistani raiders who crossed the cease-fire line numbered more than a thousand. Some raiders fled back over the border; however, infiltrators continued to pour into Kashmir in ever increasing numbers. Pakistan propaganda was that Kashmir Muslims were in revolt to liberate their homeland from the grip of India. The trouble created by the infiltrators was represented as the result of the action committee and the plebiscite front in Kashmir. The press in the West too readily gave publicity to the Pakistani version of the conflict, paying little attention to Indian information. In Srinagar, 8 August was the annual festival day of Pir Dastgir Sahib, a local saint. Pakistani infiltrators hoped to join the pilgrim crowd and make that day the day of Kashmir's deliverance from India. But the invasion miscarried. Scattered groups of infiltrators could do

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nothing when they could not get the active support of their co-religionists in Kashmir. However, the Pakistan radio broadcasted what was expected to happen as something that had already happened, and the pro-Pakistani press in the West gave prominent publicity to Pakistan's untruths and half-truths. That 8-9 August passed quietly in Srinagar is an indisputable fact though a sore disappointment to Pakistan. Srinagar whose fall had been reported to have been imminent, was safe in the hands of India.

Throughout the early half of August it was Pakistan that seemed to get the upper hand. General Nimmo reported that "Indian positions along the cease-fire line were subject to heavy artillery and mortar fire from Pakistan side on 15-16 August. The attacking forces captured nine Indian positions on August 16-17". These posts were retaken by the Indian forces in the next few days. The point to be noted here is that large-scale and sustained attack in the Chhamb sector was made by Pakistan, thus establishing the fact that it was Pakistan not India that first crossed cease-fire line and committed aggression. Further, General Nimmo's report on 15 August proves that Pakistani forces from Pakistan further crossed the international border adding a new dimension to the conflict. The report says that the Pakistanis "raided the village of Rajpur five miles on the Indian side of the Pakistan-Jammu border".

Pakistan's deliberate intention to cut the Srinagar-Leh road, perhaps as a friendly gesture to China, demanded a firm reply from India. On 15 August India recaptured the two mountain features overlooking Kargil that she had vacated earlier and also occupied another vital post to prevent Pakistan from doing mischief in that "highly sensitive sector".

On the night of 14 August occurred an incident which reveals the Pakistani way of twisting facts. Some raiders got into within a few miles of Srinagar and set fire to Batmalu, a suburb of the capital. "Pakistani radio broadcast this jubilantly but later insisted that the Indian army had set fire to this quarter when it realized that its confession of arson was not going to be kindly received by those who had been rendered homeless."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.G. Verghese, *The Times of India*, dated 13-10-1965.

It became necessary for India to seal all important routes of infiltration into the Indian side of Kashmir. The capture of Haji Pir on 28 August "was a bold swift manoeuvre skilfully executed" by the Indian army. Counter-attacks were beaten back and on 10 September the Indian army completed the control of the Uri-Poonch link, "a splendid achievement". By now Pakistan's miscalculations came to her. But she kept on not only denying knowledge of infiltrators but passing off their activities as those of the "freedom fighters".

It is unfortunate that General Nimmo's report was not promptly published to tell the world the truth. India sought its publication and U Thant, Secretary to the U.N.O., desired it. But the friends of Pakistan in the Security Council thought that it should not be published in the interests of peace. In fact, this only encouraged Pakistan to embark on war.

In spite of the fact that all Pakistanis had been Indians before the partition in 1947, knowing well the people, the government and the army they left behind in India for new life in Pakistan, they appear to have held strange myths about India. The Pak rulers' image of India was that it was weak and flabby; it had a vacillating leadership; it was defended by an ill-equipped army lacking physical strength and mental courage. They thought that man to man the Pakistani soldier was infinitely superior to the Indian. They were certain of the support of their friends in the West. Their membership in the SEATO and the Bagdad pact made them feel sure of the support of their co-members. More than all they heavily leaned on the probable support of their co-religionists in Kashmir and India. As the cruel hand of destiny had taken away Jawaharlal Nehru, a towering personality in international circles, they thought that his successor Lal Bahadur Shastri would not be able to rise to the height of a conflict with Pakistan, the ally of China that had defeated India in 1962. It was with such a psychological background that the rulers of Pakistan precipitated the Indo-Pak conflict over the Kashmir issue. But all their myths were exploded by the stern realities of the battle-field. As a top-ranking Canadian put it "Lal Bahadur Shastri showed himself to be a man with an iron backbone in India's critical hour". Shastri boldly declared that India would be constrained to pursue the counter

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action against Pak raiders even beyond the cease-fire line if that became necessary. When the situation demanded it he courageously said, "Brave *Jawans* ! March ! There is Nothing to Fear."

The military manoeuvres employed both by Pakistan and India are really very interesting. But we have no place here for them all except for a few that show the mettle of the Indian Army and the Indian Air Force.

Pakistan had demonstrated what her American Pattons could do in Kutch on ground of her own choosing. In the Chhamb sector Pakistan was more advantageously situated than India to use her tanks with telling effect. It was not possible for India to move her heavy armour beyond Akhnoor. And it did not seem prudent to do so even if it were possible. The Indian troops fell in a series of planned withdrawals behind Chhamb. A day later the enemy came in water-proofed jeeps and tanks with sealed engines. To blunt the enemy armour an air strike was necessary. The aid of the Air Force was sought; within forty-five minutes as many as twenty-eight sorties were flown in seven missions. The I.A.F. did a wonderful job. It knocked out thirteen enemy tanks. The ground fire disabled five tanks. Pakistan called in its Air Force and her Sabres were no match for Indian Gnats. Pakistani drive to Akhnoor was temporarily halted (1 September). Akhnoor commands the strategic Chenab crossing and controls the line of communications of the Indian forces in Naushera Rajouri Poonch sector.

On 2 September U Thant appealed to both India and Pakistan for a cease-fire. In his report on Kashmir to the Security Council he frankly stated his inability to elicit from Pakistan "any assurance that the cease-fire and the cease-fire line will be respected hence forth". On 4 September the Security Council formally called for a cease-fire. India on her part was willing to accept a cease-fire provided Pakistan withdrew from Chhamb and pulled out the infiltrators from Kashmir and provided further assurance was given that India would not be open to further invasion of the kind.

Marshal Chen-i, the Chinese Foreign Minister, flew into Karachi and conferred for six hours with Bhutto, the Pak Foreign Minister (4 September). The Chinese marshal openly supported the "just action taken by Pakistan to repel the Indian armed provocation 'in Kashmir' ". On 5 September in the Amritsar area, a Pak Sabre

made an unsuccessful low level attack on certain key Air Force installations. India's supreme necessity was to relieve pressure on Akhnoor. Now the Indian army crossed the Pakistan border in the Lahore sector (6 September). At the same time the I.A.F. made tactical strikes against a number of military targets. The West which had so far been standing by silent now hastened to describe the new development as an Indian invasion of Pakistan.

Without getting into the details of the Indian attack we may say that within a short time the result was as India had expected. Enemy pressure on Akhnoor was immediately relieved. This was somewhat staggering both to Pakistan and her supporters.

Indian offensive in Lahore sector was carried up to the Ichogil canal. The Indian force discovered that in this area Pakistan had built up military structures which should have taken her some years. Here was clear proof of Pakistan's preparation for war with India for a considerably long time. In the Lahore sector the battle swayed between the Indian border and Ichogil canal with attack and counter-attack. At the time of the cease-fire the Indian forces were spread along the entire length of the canal and in occupation of the strong point of Dograi and Burki. The war in this sector gave the impression that India sought to capture Lahore but was unable to do so. This view is mistaken. India's object was not to conquer territory in Pakistan but to destroy enemy's war potential and military machine. To capture territory to be given back later would only be a waste of men and ammunition. The war had a broad front and fighting went on all along the border with varying intensity.

Two battles that led to enemy rout deserve to be described briefly. One was at Asal uttar and the other at Phillora. The Pakistanis, elated with the feeling that they had successfully held up the Indian offensive along Ichogil canal, made a determined effort to give a counter blow to the Indians. At Kasur the Pakistanis were well poised and attacked the Indians with all their vigour and strength. The Indian army was compelled to fall back under heavy pressure. Now the local commander of the Indian Force decided to take a big step back to a point where he could hold the enemy. This meant giving up some Indian territory but the commander did not mind it. The Indian force took new positions at the head of a fork



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at Khem karan, bordering on the village of Asal uttar four miles beyond this little town.

The enemy concluded that he had started a rout in the Indian army. Confident of success he marched his regiment to dislodge the Indians from their new positions. The battle was fought at Asal uttar. The name of the place means "true north", but it also means "the real answer". It was a splendid victory for the Indians. "Pakistan had lost 97 tanks, a large number of them Pattons, of which nine were captured intact and two were surrendered with crew. Ten lieutenant-colonels, Six Majors, Six other officers and several other ranks were captured in this engagement. This was indeed a real answer."

In the Sialkot sector there was a series of tank battles, reported to be the biggest since the Second World War. The tank battle continued for fifteen days without break. A decisive battle was fought at Phillora (11 September). The Indians destroyed as many as sixty-six enemy tanks on that single day and won a victory. Military experts believe that this is a notable victory that will find a very high place in the annals of armoured warfare.

When at 3.30 A.M. on 23 September, the cease-fire took effect the Indian forces held a salient of 180 square miles only 4,000 yards from Sialkot. Two hundred and forty-three enemy tanks were knocked out, reducing the armour strength of Pakistan.

While the armies battled on the ground the air forces of both countries sought for mastery of the air. The I.A.F. tried to draw the P.A.F. into battle; but the P.A.F. studiously avoided the challenge and indulged in indiscriminate bombing. It was indeed cowardly for the P.A.F. to have attacked a small, slow, unarmed civil aircraft flying in Indian territory. This resulted in the death, among others, of the Chief Minister of Gujarat travelling in the aeroplane. The Pakistani aircraft had certain advantages which the Indian aircraft lacked. Nevertheless the I.A.F. did such a wonderful job that the P.A.F. was able to do extraordinarily little damage to airfields and installations in spite of persistent raids. The I.A.F. took a heavy total of enemy aircraft. On the evidence of military experts it may be said that the I.A.F. played its part admirably well in the following roles; ground attack in support of the Indian army; air cover; interdiction of enemy movements and supplies;

air defence; the bombing of enemy air bases, and aerial reconnaissance.

Over a hundred tanks and large numbers of vehicles and guns were knocked out from the air by I.A.F. Mysteres and Hunters. Pakistan sought to escalate the conflict by carrying the fighting over the eastern region; but India wisely refrained from taking more than very limited defensive action.

The exotic interlude of the Chinese in the Indo-Pakistan conflict afforded more amusement than serious concern at the time. They issued a three day ultimatum to India on 16 September 1965. Their allegations were, first, that there were Indian military structures on the Tibet side of the Sikkim-Tibet border; and secondly, that the Indians had committed the "theft" of fifty-nine yak and 800 sheep. That these charges were fraudulent was quite apparent to everybody. The Chinese rulers, of their own accord, extended the ultimatum for three more days and then dramatically withdrew it. Chinese armies marched up and down several passes and Indian posts in Sikkim. After indulging in desultory firing in Ladakh and Sikkim they announced to the World that India had dismantled the military structures which existed only in the imagination of the Chinese. Why did China do all this? Maybe she wanted to frighten India. But India refused to grow panicky although some other powers seemed a trifle concerned. Maybe the Chinese ultimatum was a move to encourage Pakistan to continue her war with India. Perhaps China intended to frighten the Security Council with the possibility of the involvement of great powers in the war so that it might call a halt to the war which was unmistakably going against Pakistan. Whatever might have been the motive of the Chinese rulers, their rapid climb-down meant a loss of their prestige. "The subsequent widely publicised parade of 800 sheep before the Chinese Embassy in Delhi with placards reading 'eat us and save the world' was definitely not considered amusing in Peking."

India was satisfied that her primary object of blunting Pakistan's war machine had been achieved and so she was ready to accept a cease-fire from 6.30 P.M. on 14 September as originally proposed by U Thant. But Pakistan wavered. The Chinese ultimatum did not give Pakistan the desired leverage. She wanted that a political settlement of Kashmir should immediately follow cease-fire. India

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refused to permit any discussion on the political settlement declaring that Kashmir was an integral part of India and therefore such a discussion should be beyond the purview of the U.N.O. as it was an internal affair of the country.

Some hours after the expiry of the extended Chinese ultimatum to India on the evening of 22 September Pakistan accepted cease-fire and it came into effect in the early hours of 23 September. From the start it has been an uneasy cease-fire; the number of Pakistani violations of the cease-fire has been on the increase. Pakistan's reverses in the war and her exaggerated reports of gains make it necessary for her to score some tactical victory to save her face. So she keeps up the conflict by violations of the cease-fire. Her continued infiltrations reveal her desire to grab as much territory as possible. She threatens to withdraw from the U.N.O. if the Kashmir issue is not settled to her satisfaction. On 18 October the Prime Minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, declared "Pakistan may give up all talk of Kashmir so that, during that period, she can regain her poise and composure in order to forget about Kashmir".

In fact the war is not yet over. The name, Kashmir, which under ordinary circumstances should stir up visions of natural beauty has from the point of view of geopolitics acquired an emotive power not only in Pakistan and India but also in the two blocs into which the world is divided.

The Indo-Pakistan war has given glimpses into the attitude of the West towards India. It was India that was hit harder when the U.S.A. and the U.K. stopped military supplies with an air of impartiality to the belligerents during the period of war. The impression that Indian embassies had not effectively presented the Indian point of view in foreign countries particularly in the U.S.A. and U.K. is not wholly right. It is natural for the U.K. to regard Pakistan, in the creation of which she had a lion's share, as her protege. The U.S.A. in her desire to contain communism in the Asiatic region wants to be soft to Pakistan to wean her away from China. The U.S.A. seems to think that Kashmir as a part of India, a non-aligned country, would not be so helpful for the establishment of military bases in the hour of dire need as it would be if it were under Pakistan or under international control. The shape of things to come as

a sequel to Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir could not be predicted with any degree of accuracy, although Shastri asserted that Pak aggression had settled the issue for ever.

The great powers were chary of getting involved deeply in the dispute; Russia had generally befriended India, though not being unfriendly to Pakistan. Through the good offices of Russia Indian and Pakistani leaders met at Tashkent early in 1966 to find a way of establishing friendly and mutual relations between them. It was in this hour of triumph that Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India, died of heart-failure plunging India and the world into sorrow. In these tragic circumstances, Shastri's mantle fell on Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru. Her elevation to the premiership of India is Indian womanhood's crown of glory.

The Indo-Pak Conflict brought home to India that wisdom lies in not being dependent on other countries either for economic aid or for military supplies.

*Retrospect and Prospect*

THE foregoing chapters have given a rapid survey of the march of events in India from the remote past to the present time with the barest outlines of the long period preceding India's struggle for independence. Our attempt has been to focus attention on major values and concepts in their historical perspective. We shall now pull together the important trends in different aspects of human life such as political, social, economic and philosophical to help the reader get a vision of the future of the country.

Doubts entertained by most western writers as to whether India is safely in the camp of democracy, whether science and technology are compatible with traditional values in Indian life and whether India can be assured of increasing prosperity, arise chiefly because of an inadequate recognition of India's attempt, throughout the ages, at a reconciliation of the opposing forces of enjoyment and renunciation.

**Religion and Philosophy.** In India as elsewhere the prime values of religion and philosophy evolved from a close study of nature and natural phenomena. Important concepts and goals included in these values are: that enjoyment must be through renunciation; that life must be a dynamic one and that the soul passes through a series of births. There is no other doctrine that is so important in Indian life as the *Karma* theory. According to this theory "whatever happens to us in this life we have to submit in meek resignation, for it is the result of our past doings. Yet the future is in our power, and we can work with hope and confidence. *Karma* inspires hope for the future and resignation to the past".<sup>1</sup> The concepts of re-birth and the law of *Karma* form the basis of the Indian ethics. These were formed very early perhaps before the time of the Buddha as the result of the fusion of the Aryan and pre-Aryan outlooks on life and its problems.

The present Indian values in the field of religion have evolved out of the heritage of the past, the impact of Islam, the contact with the West, the teachings of great religious leaders and the bitter experience of communalism in the early part of the twentieth century. Important among the concepts and goals included in these values are:

- (1) That every individual should be free to practise his own religion. Such always had been the case in ancient India, while in the mediaeval age, kings like Akbar upheld this principle. This freedom is now guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic.
- (2) That no one should be politically or socially disqualified for his religious views. This is also guaranteed by the Constitution.
- (3) That the state is not co-terminous with religion. In other words the state has no church in India as is to be found in some of the western countries.
- (4) That fanaticism has no place in true religion, which demands toleration. This is what ancient seers always preached.
- (5) That all religions are essentially the same. (Mahatma Gandhi was a strong advocate of this view).

<sup>1</sup> Radhakrishnan.

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- (6) That the state should intervene whenever there is any communal tension or fighting and the spirit of communalism should be nipped in the bud.
- (7) That ethical rules form an important part of spiritualism. In fact, ethics which is based on the principle of natural justice, is considered to be the basis of Indian Life.

*Politics.* In ancient India politics was imbued with religion. The belief was that God ordained society with its institution of *Varnasramadharma*, a combination of caste and stage of life. Laws governing the society were supposed to have been envisaged by seers. "The ethical principles that were the bases of customary traditions guiding society became the foundation stone of the ancient Indian legal system and the science of state-craft." The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, dated 200 A.D. by some and 300 B.C. by others, and the *Dharmasastras* give maxims about what ought to be rather than what prevailed; however, they contain enough to show that the laws of society and of general life were on par with the laws of the state, if not even of superior validity. The state was directly concerned with the protection and promotion of *dharma*; *artha* and *karma*, leaving the individual free to follow his own spiritual path to attain *moksha* (release from the cycle of birth and death). With a change in the pattern of social life the outlook of the state also changed but it could never divest itself of its power to preserve peace and order in society by checking unethical life.

There never was a state religion as such in India. Even Asoka, the champion of Buddhism, patronized equally the Brāhmanās, the Ajivakās and others. Briefly stated, tolerance was the keynote of ancient Indian polity.

It was under the influence of the Kushana emperors that the divine affiliations of kingship became prominent. The king though elevated to the position of *mahati devata* or a great god as in the *Manu Samhita* (200 A.D.) was still enjoined to look after his subjects. It must be stated that the strong tradition of the land prevented the state from assuming a despotic character. The *Santiparva* of the *Mahabharata* declares that "harassing the subjects in his ignorance, by taxes not prescribed in the text, and motivated by

*artha* only, the king does harm to himself". The state was controlled to a great extent by the ideal of natural justice or *dharma* which included within it the standard set up by the customs of the land. Maintenance of social order and giving scope for the fullest expression of individuality—may be of groups rather than persons—were among the most important duties of the king. And the important concept is that the state should not only "protect the people but also should maintain the economic structure of society conducive to the fruitful occupation of the people in accordance with their natural talents and hereditary skill and the demands of society as a whole": (Datta).

The establishment of Muslim rule in India gave a shock to this ancient tradition. It was a theocratic state. The Islamic *Shariat* professed that all Muslims are equal in respect of personal rights and social status. In practice, however, many Indian Sultans denied this privilege to the converted nationals of the country. However, Akbar's administration as well as that of Jehangir shows a close resemblance to the views of ancient Indian thinkers.

During the British rule in India came in such political concepts as the rule of law, equality before the law and responsible representative government. The Preamble to the Constitution of India shows how these concepts have influenced the Constitution. While the conceptions of liberty, equality and fraternity have come from western political thought, the concepts of justice (*Dharma*) and the unity of the nation come from ancient Indian culture.

Dr. K.M. Munshi observes:

A new and a very important element introduced in the Preamble was the assurance as regards 'the dignity of the individual'. It implied that the Constitution was an instrument not only for ensuring material betterment and maintaining a democratic set-up but that it recognized that the personality of every individual citizen was sacred. Dignity, it must not be forgotten, is a word of moral and spiritual import; it implies the need of creating conditions in which the individual might be led to beauty and perfection, which thus constituted an end of the state.



## India

*Law:* In India the earliest form of law corresponded with natural justice as found in the Vedic texts. This natural justice which had been embedded in the tradition of the land was enforced by consensus in the Assembly of elders (*Parishad*). In this way evolved the unwritten laws of the land. The early writers of law books in India did not recognize the state as the source of law but only as its regulator. The four recognized 'sources' of law were the *srutis* or the *Vedas*, the *smritis* or the *dharmaśāstras*, *sadachara*, or the recognized customs of the elite, and that which accords with one's own conscience. In practice customary laws appear to have reigned supreme. *Baudhayana Dharmashastra* (400 B.C.) recognized the peculiar customs of the northerners and the southerners and maintained the validity of both in their respective spheres. Yajnavalkya goes a step further and gives the force of law to the custom in conquered countries irrespective of whether they fall under the description of *sadachara* or not. From time immemorial India has been having a plural society and as Sen Gupta observes: "the organ of authority in a religious society was the *Parishad* and in a minor degree, every learned Brāhmana; in a military society, it was the king or the chief; while trade was ruled by its own guilds, communities like those of the Chandalas had their own assemblies and villages regulated their own affairs."

Commenting on the persecution of religious groups in Western Europe after the rise of Protestantism Mac Iver observes: "The age had not yet discovered that the ruler need not meddle with the religion of his subjects or that it was unnecessary to make a particular religion a condition of civic rights or that, when citizens were divided by religious differences, the firmament of order was not weakened but on the contrary much strengthened if each group was free to worship in its own way or to worship its own God."

The tradition of India has been to allow freedom of worship and not deny or curtail civil rights on grounds of religion.

Hindu law is seen as a living organism multiplying with force of time and enlightening liberalism and adaptability wherever the circumstance so required. For example, while the Mayukha interpretation giving greater property right to women prevails in Bombay, Bengal is governed by the Dayabhaga law.

The general traditional values as embodied in the ancient Indian legal system may be briefly stated thus: law, besides satisfying the principle of egoistic utility, leads to order and harmony which form the basis of socio-economic life. It is ultimately inseparable from God, for He alone knows fully the conditions of real existence. It checks the autocracy of the state and the growth of individuality, and that is why some *rishis* place law above the king. Man's natural desire is to curb the power of others. To put a stop to this law is necessary in this world. Law being based on time-honoured custom demands our respect. Man cannot get rid of the pleasures of the senses; this is the law of nature; but unless this is legitimized society cannot thrive. The violation of law should be "assessed with expert legal advice and sound evidence and punished with impartial strictness".

The Muslim rulers introduced in India the concept of Islamic law in a theocratic state. They, however, evolved certain principles for the non-Muslims such as the levy of *Zeziya*. They decreed that the personal law of Islam would not apply to them. Non-Muslims could maintain their old institutions, personal laws and forms of worship provided that they did not wound Muslim sentiments. The Islamic criminal code had however universal application. Under Muslim rule the traditional laws of the Hindus continued and the *panchayat* worked successfully.

The British took up the tradition of justice as it had been in the previous regime. But they thoroughly revised the criminal law and introduced new rules of evidence and a new pattern of administering justice in civil cases. Personal law was recognized. This recognition of "the personal rights of all communities sprang primarily not from any superior virtue in the English but merely from their position as a small band of foreign rulers, not particularly interested in the differences between Hindu and Muslim, but vitally concerned to keep their subjects content".<sup>2</sup>

The British were careful in the matter of social legislation. But the system of *sati* was declared illegal. Under pressure of some Hindu leaders a law was passed validating the remarriage of widows (1856). After, the Montford reforms (1919) the Sarada Act was

<sup>2</sup> Griffiths.

## India

passed prohibiting child marriage in the Hindu community. Though the Act roused opposition at the time, subsequent social and economic developments have created conditions which have left that law far behind.

The Sovereign Parliament of India has gone deeper into the field of social legislation by the passage of the Hindu Code Bill to which we have already made a reference. This is now attempting to do what a Manu or a Yajnevalkyia did in ancient days.

*Arts.* The arts of India are fundamentally based on the traditions of different ethnic groups that make up the Indian society. Among the diverse elements of the classical as well as the folk arts, the ideal of *Dharma* which is the backbone of Indian culture pervades, exhibiting unity in diversity. One peculiar feature of Indian art is that side by side with the objects of extreme morality and puritanism there are sensuous ones. This is a pattern which seeks a reconciliation of the ideal of renunciation with that of enjoyment. Although the themes are invariably religious, they have never sacrificed beauty and expression. In the field of literature and music also the same features are found.

Tolerance is the marked feature of Indian culture and the arts too have developed in conformity with this general rule. The most fruitful age in the field of Indian arts is the period of six hundred years lying between B.C. 300 and 300 A.D. Though penetration of foreign influences can be traced both before and after this period, it must be said that the most vigorous assimilation in every sphere of Indian life took place in this period.

The Mauryan period (322-187 B.C.) witnessed the inflow of Iranian style in Indian architecture and sculpture. The Mauryan palace discovered at Kumrahar near Patna was modelled on the Imperial Achaemenids palace of Iran, but in the hands of the Indian artists it excelled its model.

In the four hundred years that followed the downfall of the Mauryan empire Graco-Roman and Scythian influences played a dominant role in the western and north western part, giving rise to the famous Gandhara school of art. The form illustrating the life and previous lives of the Buddha is at the start, according to Tarn, "largely Hellenistic" or influenced by "borrowing from

Roman art". The same cannot be said with certainty in the field of drama, although much has been argued for and against Hellenistic and Scythian influences on Indian theatre. Patanjali (150 B.C.) refers to two dramas (*Balibandhana* and *Kamsavadha*) that were enacted during his time. Some fragments of a drama of Asvaghosha, a contemporary of Kanishka (78 A.D. —101 A.D.), were recently discovered in Central Asia. All this shows that the Indian theatre was well developed at that age. There is no clear evidence to show that the Indian theatre was influenced by Scythian models, but it is true that it made great progress under Scythian kings of Western India, as Levi observes.

Most Western scholars have untiringly expatiated on the theme that from prehistoric times there has been a flow of foreign influences into India. This hypothesis is still to be tested by Indian archaeology which in recent times has made a good beginning but which has yet a large field for exploration. The fact that before the rise of the Mauryas (322 B.C.), there could have been no foreign influence in India in important spheres of life except in the North Western region which now is Pakistan, stands out prominently. The Harappan art bears close affinities with the art found in Sumerian sites found in Western Asia. This shows that either the Harappans had close cultural connections with ancient Sumeria or as Hrozny thinks both the peoples belonged to the same ethnic group having common cultural traditions. Whatever that be, the affinity of Harappan culture with works of Indian art found at Taxila, Pataliputra and other places proves clearly that the tradition of Indian art has been a continuous one from prehistoric times.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Mathura (a centre of Vaishnavism and Jainism) in Uttar Pradesh, and Amaravati in the valley of the river Krishna, developed from the early centuries of the Christian era schools of sculpture free from foreign influence. Mathura represents "an outgrowth of the ancient Indian school", (Benjamin Rowland). Amaravati developed under the patronage of the Sathavahana Kings of the Deccan and Buddhism supplied the inspiration to the artists. "The style of Amaravati extended to Ceylon, but Buddhist images in the Andhra style of the second and third centuries A.D. have been found as far away as Dong duong in Champa (Cambodia) and at Sempaga in the Celebes."

## India

With the establishment of the Gupta rule in India in 320 A.D. we enter what is called the Golden Age of Indian History. Kalidasa, a poet of immortal fame in world literature, was a product of this age. To the same period or somewhat late belong *Manimekalai* and *Silappadikaram* regarded as gems of Tamil literature. The *Natyasastra* of Bharata of this age shows different techniques of theatre and dancing. The *Silpasastras* of this time lay down the Indian traditions in the field of architecture and sculpture. In the field of painting this age produced marvels and miracles as shown by the frescoes in the rock-cut caves of Ajanta.

In the post-Gupta age Buddhism lost its influence and Hinduism and Jainism came to the forefront. Havell seems to be right when he says that "Jainism cannot be said to have created a special architecture of its own, for wherever they went the Jains adopted the local building tradition". In North India there arose temples crowned by curvilinear tower (*Sikhara*). The South Indian temples, instead of *Sikhara*, have *Vimana* or "pyramidal tower with stepped sides almost akin to the Babylonian Ziggurat". These temples with their *mandapa*, *prakara* and *gopuras* show the influence of folk arts in their excellence.

To sum up, the artists of the ancient period had well-defined ideals before them to which they conformed strictly. The beauty of Indian art is primarily based on spiritual values without ignoring aesthetic considerations. One of the most important principles followed was that art should be based on the frank acceptance of the facts of life. "This accounts for the fact that in a country where religion forms the backbone of the people's life, works on erotics like the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana (4th century A.D.) which anticipate many of the Freudian concepts, came to be respected, and why obscenity characterises certain sculptures and paintings in some temples of Orissa."<sup>3</sup>

During the Muslim rule a new type of architecture called "Indo-Islamic" came to the forefront. This is splendidly exemplified by the Tajmahal at Agra. It is said that while its architecture is entirely Muslim, its symbolism is Indian in spirit. The same characteristics are found in several other architectures of this age.

<sup>3</sup> *Traditional Values in Indian Life*, page 35. Indian International Centre, 1961.

The meeting and mingling of Muhammedan and Hindu styles can be found in the Rajput or the Mughal school of painting. The art of the Rajput school differs from the earlier one in that it is not purely a symbolic one. The music of the Hindu period was enriched during the Mughal age by new intonations; the Hindustani music of the North India differs from the Karnatic music of the South India. The alliance of two cultures is well illustrated by the rise of Urdu as a literary idiom. The Sufi saints believed in the efficacy of music as a way to please God.

It was during the British rule in India that Indian art in every field suffered a set-back. There was an attempt to infuse western tunes in Indian songs. The Indian stage was influenced by the introduction of European techniques. In architecture there arose the "dak bungalow" in Gothic style, which is described as a queer admixture of ideas of Victorian England with Indian technique. Lack of British sympathy in Indian art is well illustrated "by the acts of Lord William Bentinck who seriously considered the demolition of the Taj Mahal and the sale of the marble". "He was only diverted because the test auction of the materials from the Agra Palace proved unsatisfactory." The survival of the Indian architects is due to the support given by the Indian princes. Lord Curzon whose interest in art and archaeology was almost passion, sought to preserve ancient monuments.

In modern time when India started the freedom movement Indian artists showed a keenness to revive the tradition of the ancient days. In Bengal there arose a school of painting led by Rabindranath Tagore. A similar school was founded in Bombay. There is a feeling that the Indian tradition should not be ignored in architecture. In spite of the suggestion of the consulting Architect to the Government of India to build the new capital in consonance with the spirit of "the reawakened India of the present and the future" New Delhi developed in an alien style.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In the course of his speech inaugurating the national art treasure's fund in New Delhi (February 23, 1952) Jawaharlal Nehru said, "New Delhi has always seemed to me to be a place without a soul and without spirit. In spite of its large structures of stone and brick and in spite of a certain attractiveness which some of the New Delhi buildings may possess, New Delhi is not an attractive place." According to him it lacks an inspiring atmosphere, which it could have had if the suggestion of the Consulting Architect had been accepted.

## *India*

The concepts and goals of the Republic of India in the field of art are :

- (1) To preserve and encourage traditional art and welcome such Western style as can be developed on the basis of the early patterns.
- (2) To encourage folk arts and take care to see that they are not marred by other influences.
- (3) To promote an appreciation of classical music and folk music, discouraging the undue impact of the West.
- (4) To see that the stage and the screen deal with Indian themes more and more, retaining at the same time essential western techniques.
- (5) To open as many art galleries as possible to acquaint people with the real tradition of the country.

*Science.* Some historical perspective is needed to understand India's contribution to the world in the realm of science. In 1858 Whewell in his book *The History of Inductive Sciences* observed :

... almost the whole career of the Greek schools of philosophy, of the schoolmen of Europe in the Middle ages, of the Arabian and Indian philosophers shows that we may have extreme ingenuity and subtlety, invention and connection, demonstration and method; and yet out of these no physical science may be developed. We may obtain by such means logic and metaphysics, even geometry and algebra; but out of such materials we shall never form optics and mechanics, chemistry and physiology.

This statement regarding the ancients and mediaevals may be accepted for general guidance; but we must point out that no impartial student of culture-history would miss the following noteworthy points, among others, in a survey of world's positive sciences :

- (1) The 'Pure' mathematics of the Hindus was, on the whole, not only in advance of that of the Greeks, but anticipated in some remarkable instances the European discoveries of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

That mathematics is the basis of the mathematical science known to modern mankind.

- (2) Hindu intellect has independently appreciated the dignity of objective facts, devised the methods of observation and experiment, elaborated the machinery of logical analysis and truth investigation, attacked the external universe as a system of secrets to be unravelled, and wrung out of Nature the knowledge which constitutes the foundations of science.<sup>5</sup>

The point to be noted is that the Hindus have a claim to be regarded "as pioneers of science and contributors to exact, positive, and material culture" on a footing of equality with the Greeks, "in quality, quantity and variety". The absolute superiority claimed for the Greeks by European writers cannot therefore be granted from the Hindu angle of vision.

The age of experimental and inductive science is only about three hundred years old. This period is considered as the epoch of cultural superiority of the West over the East. At the time of the French Revolution (1789) there was hardly any difference between Europe and Asia. The difference set in with the application of steam to production and transportation. The mechanical revolution led to an industrial revolution in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Thus "modernism" with its social institutions of science and technology brought about the supremacy of Europe and America over Asia and Africa.

A.E. Zimmern observes: "The white races are not strong because they are white or virtuous because they are strong. They are strong because they have acquired through a long course of thought and work, a mastery over Nature and hence over their weaker fellow-men. It is not virtue but knowledge to which they owe their strength." Inventors and discoverers came by nature. They worked and thought not for any single group of people or nation but for all peoples in the world. The Europeans among whom they sprang were clever enough to profit by the thoughts of these geniuses and built modern civilization upon cheap mechanical power.

<sup>5</sup> Benoy Kumar Sarkar.



## India

The quite temporary advantages that the mechanical revolution in the West had given the Europeans over the rest of the old world were regarded by people, blankly ignorant of such events as the great Mongol conquest, as evidence of a permanent and assured European leadership of mankind. They had no sense of the transferability of science and its fruits. They did not realise that Chinamen and Indians could carry on the work of research as ably as Frenchmen or Englishmen. They believed that there was some innate intellectual drive in the West, and some innate indolence and conservatism in the East, that assured the Europeans a world predominance for ever.<sup>6</sup>

The consequences of this infatuation were colonialism and imperialism. Thus far about the historical background; now let us trace the development of science through the ages in India.

In the *Rigveda* (1500 B.C.) along with hymns to gods we find the hankering of the human mind for unravelling the mysteries of nature. To lay down rules for Vedic sacrifices in the *Brahmanas* (900 B.C.) the study of geometry and astronomy became necessary. The former was needed for the purposes of constructing different types of altars and the latter for finding out the auspicious moment for the performance of sacrifices.

In the sixth century B.C. the Buddhist revolt against the authority of the Vedas coincided with the establishment of Takshasila (Taxila) as a great centre of learning where the science of medicine and surgery was taught. Soon Indian ideas began to flow to the West. Indian "influences" have been traced on Pythagorean mathematics and in the *Treatise on Winds* by Hippocrates and in *The Vimaetus* of Plato. In the second century B.C. when the Greeks of Bactria founded an empire in India, science, specially astrology, became enriched by Bactrian ideas. *Charakasamhita*, dealing with the science of medicine was composed during the Kushana period. In this, references to preparation of medicines from metals indirectly show that chemistry was already in an advanced stage. Later Susruta produced his treatise on surgery. In mathematics the decimal system was first evolved in India and later on it influenced the Arab

<sup>6</sup> H.G. Wells.

science of mathematics and through it the mathematics of the world. The Zero (0) was also first discovered in India. Alberuni (1033) wrote: "The numeral signs which we use are derived from the finest forms of Hindu signs."

According to Hankel, the Hindus are the real inventors of Algebra if we define algebra as the application of arithmetical operations to both rational and irrational numbers or magnitudes<sup>7</sup> "The glory of having invented general methods in this most subtle branch of mathematics (Indeterminate Equations) belongs to the Indians."<sup>8</sup>

There is evidence to show that Indian Geometry developed un-inspired by the Greeks. Aryabhata (476 A.D.) gave the accurate value of  $\pi$ . Its correct value was not known in Europe before Purbach (1423-61). The history of mathematics admits Brahmagupta's (598-660) fresh contributions to Geometry. Though Hindu geometers achieved much the same results as the Greeks, it must be admitted that they did not attain the excellence of Euclid (306-293 B.C.) in method and system.

Bhaskaracharya anticipated Newton (1642-1727) by over five hundred years (1) in the discovery of the principles of differential calculus and (2) in its application to astronomical problems and computations.

The cultivation of astronomy as science did not make less progress among the Hindus than among the Greeks under Hipparchus (150 B.C.) and Ptolemy (139 A.D.). Varaha-mihra's (505-87 A.D.) candid acknowledgment of the fact that astronomy was well established among the Greeks leaves no doubt about Greek influence in this field.

The debt of Europe to Saracen chemistry or alchemy is generally acknowledged by historians of science. This is indirectly an admission of Europe's debt to the Hindus for they had taught these teachers of mediaeval Europe.

History shows that India was the greatest "industrial power" of antiquity. The manufactures of the Hindus were found in the markets of Egypt, Babylonia, Judaea, Persia, etc. To the Romans of the imperial epoch, and the Europeans of the middle ages the

<sup>7</sup>*History of Mathematics*, Cajori. New York, 1909; See Benoy Kumar Sarkar, 1918, *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science*.

<sup>8</sup>Nalinbehari Mitra.

## *India*

Indians were noted chiefly as a nation of industrial experts. Patanjali (second century B.C.) gave elaborate directions for many metallurgical and chemical processes which show the knowledge of industrial chemistry of the period. The Mahrauli iron pillar of King Chandra shows India's activity in iron ores carried to its extreme excellence. During the fourth century the Hindus could forge a bar of iron, says Fergusson, "larger than any that have been forged in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now."

Pliny, the Roman of the first century A.D., noticed the industrial position of the Hindus as paramount in the world. This position was maintained by India even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was after the industrial revolution and the establishment of British rule in India that the Indians lost their industrial hegemony. The preparation of fast dyes, the extraction of the principle of indigotin which anticipated modern chemical methods and the tempering of steel show the important discoveries of the Indians in chemical technology.

The period extending from the fall of the Guptas to the Muslim conquest was generally one of stagnation, but yet there was a good deal of the cultivation of science as revealed in the courses of study of the universities of the period.

The concepts and goals that guided the scientific investigations of the ancient Indians included the following among others:

- (1) That the mystery of the universe should be solved for attaining a true knowledge of the ultimate reality. The atomic theory propounded by Kanada led to the development of the Vaiseshika school of philosophy.
- (2) That science should be cultivated in the background of *Dharma* and it must have a humanitarian end in view.

The following conclusions may be drawn:

- (1) That scientific investigation was not confined to any particular province of India or to any race or class of the Hindu population. It was a cooperative effort in intellectual advance.

- (2) That no one hypothesis or theory ever dominated the Hindu thought. The intellectual universe of the Indians was "pluralistic". There were different schools criticizing, correcting and modifying one another's enquiries.
- (3) That the story of scientific investigation among the Hindus, like that among other nations, is the story of a growth and development in critical enquiry, sceptical attitude and rationalism.

In the mediaeval period nothing remarkable happened in the domain of science. There was, however, some activity in the field of astronomy. At Jaipur and Delhi, observatories were established for studying the positions of the stars and planets. The Unani system of medicine was introduced into the country. But this was not very different from the ancient Ayurvedic system.

"*Charaka* and *Susruta* were translated into Arabic about 800 A.D. and about sixteen other Indian works on medicine were known to the Arabs in translation".

After the establishment of the British rule in India there was more talk about science than any determined effort to improve the economy of the country by the application of science to local industries. At first the Indians had no love for western science. Due to the agitation by Indian intellectuals science courses were introduced in the universities. The opening of the Institute of Science in Bangalore may be regarded as the first great step in the development of scientific studies in modern India. Great Indians that have made notable contributions to the field of science are J.C. Bose, P.C. Roy, C.V. Raman, K.S. Krishnan and a few others.

Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha was famous for his work in nuclear physics. He was one of the many men who were active in this new and difficult branch of science. He was the president of the First International Conference on the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy, which met at Geneva in 1955. This meeting of scientists produced very useful results. Coming back to India, Dr. Bhabha founded the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. He was the chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission and secretary to the Government of India in the department of atomic energy till his tragic death in a plane crash abroad (January 1966).

## *India*

In the Republic of India the study of science is greatly encouraged and striking achievements have been made in the last eighteen years. Jawaharlal Nehru throughout his period of premiership of India did every thing possible to encourage scientific work and research. He was the chairman of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and was closely associated with the Atomic Energy Commission; through his effort a Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs came into existence (since merged in the Ministry of Education). This Ministry is keeping before it the following concepts and goals:

- (1) That the power of nature should be harnessed for improving the general living conditions of mankind.
- (2) That the use of science for destructive purposes must be restrained in every way.
- (3) That proper facilities should be given to the rising generation for getting adequate training in science and technology.

As we see it, science is supported everywhere as a handmaid to industry. Scientific development generally takes top priority when some misfortune comes to a country in the shape of war. We saw the use of atom bombs in the second world war. There are big nuclear powers in the world, which are piling up nuclear weapons. Now there is a new competition between Russia and America in space flight.

The question that should seriously be asked is: "Has not science a nobler purpose than adding to the wealth of the nation and bringing about better conditions of living and using it for destructive purposes in war?" Great thinkers have thought about the question. Yet there is no clear sign of putting an end to the manufacture of nuclear weapons which can be used only for an evil purpose.

While science has grown tremendously we are doubtful if what is called the scientific spirit has developed even among the advanced countries to the extent it should. It is difficult to define exactly scientific spirit. People talk of science as something that declares war on Nature and tries to control it. To Jawaharlal Nehru it was not war with nature but cooperation with nature to uncover

the secrets of nature. The discovery of science often comes in conflict with society that normally stands for conservatism or rather has a reluctance for change. "So", as Jawaharlal Nehru said, "we come up against a certain inherent conflict in society between the coexisting principles of continuity and of conservatism and the scientific principle of discovery which brings about change and challenges that community." The scientific spirit would break the continuity, shake off conservatism and accept change. This does not easily happen in any society however materially advanced it may be through the application of science to industry, transportation etc. It is often pointed out that Indian reluctance to change is of a peculiar kind which militates against the development of science. To reinforce this idea, telling descriptions of Indian superstitions are given. Historically speaking superstition has not had a deeper and more extensive hold on the oriental intellect than on the occidental. "To this day, quite a lot of people, in the most advanced countries still half believe in magic. In Britain and America, many people will not walk under a ladder, especially not on a Friday. Newspapers print advice as to what people born in certain months should, and should not, try to do on certain days. Few hotels have a room numbered thirteen. Airmen often secretly, or openly carry, lucky mascots and many fishermen believe that no fish will be caught if anyone in the boat mentions rabbits."<sup>9</sup>

Have such beliefs among Englishmen and Americans prevented them from scientific advancement? Why then should Indians be regarded as not fully qualified to embrace the so called "modernism"? This is perhaps due to a modern kind of superstition about the non-whites.

A new science called Social Anthropology has developed in recent decades. Among the conclusions it has led to "one is that all the various and strange ways that exist in the world are all possible ways of living. Another is that none of them is perfect. We humans, young and old, have all without exception, a lot to learn.

<sup>9</sup>Amabel Williams—Ellis, *Modern Scientist At work*, George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1961. p. 119-20.

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“In this science, and in all the others that have to do with humans, friendliness, tact, courage, a sense of justice and respect for other people, are the virtues that are needed.” We agree with Amabel Williams-Ellis in the conclusion that if all the things that we could learn from studying social anthropology were put into practice, the reward to the world would be very great indeed. Indian tolerance is nearer to the idea contained in these conclusions than any other.

We believe that the Indian in spite of his reverence for the cow and belief in *puja* is developing science and technology and can reach the heights of developed countries in this field. And more than all he is showing scientific spirit in his dealings with man and matter and can continue to do so.

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE

We have earlier discussed the traditional values of the caste system, the joint family and the self-sufficient village which form the bases of the Indian social structure. The joint family is now mostly broken up but the members of the family though separated by distance maintain their traditional love and regard for the head of the family. Measures to remove what according to modern conception are the evils of the joint family, have been taken. A woman had to depend first on the will of the head of the family and later, on the whim of the husband. To save her from any cruelty, the Divorce Act has been passed. According to Hindu Law the daughter could not inherit property, now she can have a share in her father's property. The village *panchayat* was deliberately crushed during the British period, now it has been revived subject to certain controls. It is the caste system, however truncated, that persists giving room for conflicting interpretations, and speculations. We shall therefore consider its value for the present day society.

*The Caste.* Vedic scriptures repeatedly declare that the soul has no creed, caste, colour, race or sex.

That human society should be organized and individual life should be planned so that each may know his duties and rights in a given

situation and satisfy his spiritual and material needs as best he may, is recognized by all. There will of course be differences with regard to how it should all be done. In spite of the abuse heaped on Manu, the Hindu Law giver, by some ill-informed Western writers, there are still some thinkers who regard that Manu's Scheme of Individuo-Social Organization is the best available scheme of human planning. The caste system, a peculiar feature of Indian society is denoted by two terms *Varna* and *Jati*. *Varna* literally means colour, not race; it implies also character, nature and quality. *Jati* is interpreted as the form of existence fixed by birth. According to the *Varna* theory the position of a man in society is determined by the nature and quality of the occupation he follows. Those who hold to this theory assert that *Varna* does not mean a separate 'birth-caste'. "The impress of its original and etymological sense is proved by the fact that a very large number of Caste-names are names of occupation."<sup>10</sup> One may change one's occupation and consequently one's social position will also change. The *Jati* theory maintains that a man's position in society is determined by providence which represents the sum total of his actions done in his previous births and hence the social status is a fixed one, whatever avocation he may follow in his present life. The conflict of these two theories has been going on from the ancient period to the present day.

The Vedic Sanskrit names of the four component parts of the Indian society are (a) *brahmana* (the priest) (b) *kshatriya* (the warrior) (c) *vaisya* (the trader) and (d) *sudra* (the labourer). One point that has not received adequate attention in the discussions relating to class or caste divisions in society is that the first three main types "with the fourth residual plasmic type, are to be found in all grades of communities of human beings; primitive, barbarous, 'semi-civilised'; as well as those which regard themselves as very advanced and very highly civilised". There are Islamic Arabic-Persian names corresponding to the names of the four *varnas*.<sup>11</sup> In Britain they used to speak of the three estates of the realm (a) clergy, (b) nobility (c) commons to which a fourth may be added

<sup>10</sup> Bhagvan Das.

<sup>11</sup> *Ul-ni-ilm*, also *ul-ullilbhach* (b) *ul-ul-amr* (c) *zurra* (d) *mnzd-war*: the three first occur in the *Quran*.



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now (d) proletariat. Other countries and languages of Europe have corresponding classes and words. In England the institution of monarchy is a standing example of succession by heredity. Edward VIII had to abdicate to live with a wife of his choice. Even now there are families in England that feel proud of tracing their descent to some Norman Baron and claim comparatively high social status.

A description of how and why the different sections of society were intended to work together is found in the Bible: "There are many members, yet one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. . . . And whether one member suffers, all the members suffer with it."

Dealing with "The Basic Natural Laws that govern Man's Material Welfare" two American writers<sup>12</sup> say that no two human beings are equal in all respects and that no nation can make genuine lasting progress without recognizing and utilizing the Law of unequal talents and that this is evidenced by the recognition of the need for unequal rewards." When such is the case in the sphere of material welfare, how much more would inequality be in the realm of spiritual development. The U.S.S.R. too recognizes the law of inequality and pays fabulous premiums to specially talented people. "The 20th Century cult of artificial equality between unequal men, crazy as it is, has gained enormous popular acceptance.

The *varnasramadharm*a of the Hindu has for its basis the law of inequality so that people may take their natural places in the society and rise or sink according to their value to their fellowmen, not only in the matter of material welfare but also in the matter of spiritual welfare.

The most difficult problem for the historian is to account for the existence of the *jati*. There have been many efforts to decide how it began. All of them have suffered from one handicap, that is lack of historical evidences. It would be true to say that nobody knows how it began. However, several theories have been put forward, and the highest common factor of them is that the followers of each limited occupation became converted

<sup>12</sup> *How we Live*, Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy, page 65.

into rigidly hereditary 'castes' each confining interdining and intermarrying to itself. At the occupational level there is now a mobility among the castes. Interdining among different castes has become a common feature. But endogamous marriages help the survival of caste distinctions. As already pointed out caste does not stand in the way of the promotion of national unity.

That the concept of *Varna* allowed a man to pass from one class to another with the change of his disposition has historical evidence in support. The *Harivams*, 300 A.D., records the tradition that the sons of one *Nagabhagaristha*, belonging to the *Vaisya* group became *Brahmanas*. The Greeks, the Scytho-kushanas and the Hunas, foreign hordes that came to India, were regarded as *Kashatriyas* for their might and valour. The slow and subtle working of the *varna* theory can best be illustrated by the example of the *Abhiras*. They were a Central Asian tribe that entered India during the confusion caused by the invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. (Tarn). In the *Mahabharata* they are regarded as untouchable *sudras*. The *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali (150 B.C.) shows that there was slight improvement in their social position, for they were regarded as touchable *sudras*. In the third century A.D. an *Abhira* dynasty ruled in the Maharashtra country. Earlier *Manu Samhita* (200 A.D.) looked upon them as *Kashatriyas*. Later, when they associated themselves with the *Gopala-Krishna* cult they won honour and devotion from the vast followers of the *Vaishnava* sect.

These and several other instances show the Indian value "that diversity is the law of nature but unity must be sought in order to make life secure. This unity was brought about by the system of *Varna* through the medium of which foreigners and the non-Aryan groups of India found their way into the healthy social frame without creating any disturbance in the general life of the people."

The existence of the caste system such as it is cannot be ignored. It is a healthy sign that no caste association has become a political party. As *Masani* states:

Whether judged by results or regarded in the light of modern philosophical thought, the survival utility of the caste system is assured, if only caste-fellows bear steadfastly in mind that it asks

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for free souls rather than freemen, for moral rather than material strength: that the essential basis of the institution was the development of groups of individuals in consonance with their qualities and qualifications: that the key-stone of the structure was no detachment, but union; that the element of exclusiveness and untouchability is repugnant to the social philosophy and tradition of the Aryan race: and that the main, if not the sole, object of the caste system should be to secure social efficiency on the democratic and socialistic principles of class collaboration and rule of law.

Largely influenced by English jurisprudence the Constitution ensures the equality of man in the eyes of law. The social disabilities from which the so called 'untouchables' were suffering have all been removed by legislative measures. The Parliament has full powers to safeguard the social frame from any crack.

*Education.* It is in the field of education that India has gone far away from her ancient ideas, breaking off her past traditions. We have earlier given the circumstance under which an exotic system of education came to be established primarily to produce subordinate officials and clerk for the British administration. The *Gurukulas*, the Hindu *Tols* and the Muslim *Madrasas* languished for want of support. One of the most important principles of the Hindu type of education is that there is no antithesis between culture and vocation. The educated section of the community favoured the western system, which inevitably led to the falling apart of culture and vocation. In 1857 Universities were set up in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Later on there arose other Universities in the country. Law colleges and medical colleges sprang up out of necessity. Illiteracy, premature withdrawal of children from schools, stagnation, and wide disparity between the number of boys and that of girls drawn into school were the marked features of the elementary stage of education at the time when India became independent (1947). Secondary education was several decades behind that in advanced countries. University education was purely of the academic type. One of the legacies of the British period is the unemployment of a considerable section of the educated youth of the land.

Mahatma Gandhi sponsored the Wardha Scheme of Basic education for children of the age group seven-fourteen. He described it as 'the spearhead of a silent social revolution', for it advocated integrated instruction through the medium of a craft or crafts. In practice the philosophy underlying the scheme was not properly understood. The hope that all elementary schools could be converted to Basic schools within a period of ten years has not been realized to this day. The Seargent scheme gave a proposal to draw 50 per cent children of school going age to schools within a period of 40 years. This was not implemented. The University commission produced a report called the Radhakrishnan Commission Report making recommendations. The Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar brought out a report making suggestions to bring Secondary education upto date and relate it to actual life conditions.

For some reason or other important recommendations of these commissions have not been fully implemented. With the dawn of independence the masses awoke to the need of education. There has been phenomenal increase in the student population at all levels of education. The character of education has not changed to suit the needs of the present day pupils, so that people talk of falling standards in education.

The Indian Education Commission which has reported what may be done to improve education at all levels and of all types. It is hoped that some good will come out of the labours of the Indian Education Commission. The growing industries require educated workmen, technicians, foremen and managers. It is now realized that technical education should be linked up with the industries and that general education should be work-oriented.

*Economic Life.* According to ancient Indian concept of economic life, individuals classified under certain groups should have their own traditions and hereditary proficiency in certain skills in industry. The principle that governed trade was that hoarding or undue raising of prices should be regarded as inimical to society. Epigraphic evidences show that the state looked after the moral and economic welfare of the people without burdening them with heavy taxation. The householder spent his life in the field of *artha*

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(earning through production) and *kama* (enjoyment) and in an advanced age he retired from the affairs of the world handing over his responsibilities to his immediate heir, usually the eldest son.

In the Muslim period the structure of Indian economic life saw no change. The Muslims preferred urban life. So the village economy continued unchanged. Baber, the founder of the Mughal empire in India (1526 A.D.) states: "Workmen in every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work or any employment there is always a set ready to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages." Living was then cheap. Trade with European countries declined, for in the middle ages it lay "strangled in the grip of the Turks".

In the British period the economic exploitation of India became a necessity in the interests of English manufacturers. Age-long industries of India declined. The pressure on land increased. Agriculture in some respects became commercialized. India's indigenous products found market in Britain, Germany and Japan. Rail roads were constructed; postal system was established; banks sprang up and currency came into wide use. All these helped to create a national market. Several large factories such as the Tata Iron and Steel Factory developed in the early decades of this century. But the economic level of the country continued to be at a very low ebb.

It was after independence (1947) that concerted measures were taken for the economic improvement of the people. It has been asserted that "the basic criterion in determining social policies and the lines of economic advance should be not private profit or the interests of a few, but the good of the community as a whole".

The contentment with which a poor peasant keeps somehow his body and soul together is peculiarly an Indian asset. It is only he who knows well the ethico-religious doctrine underlying the peasant's attitude towards life that can correctly interpret his calm resignation.

The fundamental concept of the social structure is that service to fellowmen is service to God. It is this that has led to many philanthropic activities of well-to-do men to relieve the distress of the poor. Exploitation of the poor by the rich or of the weak by the strong is alien to the theory of Indian culture.

India's present economic goal is to increase the standard of living of the people by the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. This means an attempt to increase the National Wealth. Per capita income has necessarily to be raised by provision of suitable employment for all. The five year plans are directed towards ameliorating the conditions of the poverty-stricken people.

Though the Indian by temperament resigns himself to his lot, he has always entertained the hope that he can through his effort improve his lot in life. That the social structure is ill-adapted to economic progress by the adoption of modern methods is a misconception of many western writers. The law of cooperation that man does not prosper alone but by working together is inherent in the Indian social structure. True, there is a great deal of economic ignorance among the people. But this is found in all societies, the difference is one of degree, not of kind.

For economic uplift higher production is necessary, both agricultural and industrial. The quantity and quality of production depend on the quantity and quality of natural resources, human energy and tools. Man has no control over the first; the rest he can improve. The Western countries are rich in their tools and power. India has to depend on them still to a large extent for machines and their component parts. She has to import them. This means ability to pay in dollars and pounds. She can do so only when there is a favourable balance of trade. Export depends on the needs of the buyers from India. Unless India produces those things, raw or finished, that Western countries need, India cannot have a favourable balance of trade to buy what she wants. This exchange position is now so tight that India restricts imports to just those things that are absolutely necessary for the country and saves exchange. In view of the acute exchange crisis, India has recently devalued the rupee. In spite of exchange difficulties India has made remarkable progress in her manufactures as we have noted earlier in the section on economic development.

With regard to improving cattle-breed and production per acre of land it is money that is needed. When the per capita income is pitifully low, how can people be expected to save and invest? Good seed, fertilizers, modern implements and improved methods of cultivation—all these depend on the country's financial resources.

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It is wrong to think that people are not willing to change. If they are made to know that change is for the better there is no difficulty.

Jawaharlal Nehru dinned into the ears of the people that the material welfare of India depends on her per capita production of goods and services. "What worries the Indian planners is not where to find labour but where to find the jobs for all the labour there is and will be." India is rich in human resources. People must be helped to acquire necessary skill to work with machines. Planned development was started in 1951. We are at present near the end of the Third Five Year Plan. This will be followed by other five year plans to achieve the socio-economic goals set out. The goals and their content will go on increasing and deepening with the pace of development in India and the world. People ask what have the Plans achieved? Really, there could be no complete achievement of goals but there could be progress towards the goals.

To prevent concentration of economic power in the hands of a few and to reduce disparities in income and wealth of the people a number of steps have been taken to reorganize the production apparatus both in agriculture and in industry.

In agriculture the middleman is practically eliminated; reforms to give tenancy right to tillers have been carried out; regulations to give the tiller security of tenure have been made; ceilings in agricultural holding are fixed. The control of the state in the industrial sphere is increasing to safeguard the interest of the people. Preferential treatment is given to new people entering industry and an attempt is made to locate new industries in new places to reduce concentration of wealth in a few places.

The first three Plans are an important landmark in India's march towards prosperity and affluence. To improve the lot of one fifth of the human race requires unremitting effort over a long period. The Chinese threat and Indo-Pak conflict have impeded the progress of the Plan. Defence requirements have loomed large.

In the socio-economic field we have a variety of ideas about flourishing and coexistence. This is in keeping with the traditions of India. In the ancient and middle ages differences related to religion. Now conflicting ideologies are concerned with urgent economic and political problems. There is a strong pull towards secularism. The government and the people are involved in creat-

ing a better social order; with regard to the practical steps to be taken there is a conflict of views. The Congress party which governs India today is wedded to democratic socialism developing the public sector in important areas, allowing at the same time the private sector to grow in other areas. The Congress party is giving a new orientation to socialism. The Swatantra party though largely in agreement with the concept of the welfare state is conservative and seems to oppose the speed with which social reform and industrialization are being carried on. There are nationalist bodies such as the Hindu Mahasabha, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Jan Sangh and others which seem to follow Savarkar's slogan "Hinduise all politics and militarise Hinduism". There are socialists and communists who are not satisfied with the extent of socialism found in the Congress party. Gandhiji's more radical gospel is being preached by his disciple Vinoba Bhave. The philosophy behind his *bhudan* (land-gift) and *sarvodaya* (the welfare of all) has caught the imagination of thoughtful people both in India and abroad. He leads no political party. His *sarvodaya* is an ancient ideal. At present it is the Congress that remains in power almost unchallenged. Its chief opponent is the Communist party. Among the conflicting socio-economic ideals prevalent, which will have an enduring value cannot be predicted now. It will be an achievement if a political party that can powerfully oppose the Congress evolves out of the prevailing divided opposition. There is a growing recognition among all political parties that traditional values in life have been adjusted to modern requirements to solve successfully the problems of poverty, hunger and ignorance that confront the nation.



*Geopolitics— A Perspective*

We have observed that India, from pre-historic times to the present day, has been a part of universal history. Especially after independence in 1947 India has become important in world affairs. Nehru saw India as the emerging "giant" of world affairs, able to stand on an equal footing with any other nation. It was the independence of India that paved the way for the political freedom of the other Afro-Asian nations. There is therefore an unconscious tendency among the new independent nations to emulate the example of India.

Discussing the question of the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe Nehru wrote:

When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history, and because of so many

other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that; India becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and the West.

Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India inevitably comes into the picture. If you have to consider any question concerning South East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of regional organizations in Asia, you have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may have in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.<sup>13</sup>

Asian countries in general are at present primarily concerned with problems of food, of clothing, of education and of health. All of them except People's China are not concerned with problems of power politics as are the Western countries. They are keenly aware that they are far behind the Western countries in terms of power and technological growth. While the Asian countries are engaged in the difficult task of economic reconstruction, they find that of necessity, they have to get themselves involved in international affairs. In such circumstances, a large country like India cannot remain isolated.

The Second World War ended creating more problems than it attempted to solve. Two great countries, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., emerged as giants into the world. Since the cessation of hostilities there have been fundamental ideological differences between them. While both the countries recognize the equality of man and the need for social justice, the U.S.A. stands for private enterprise and the U.S.S.R., for collectivism. These two have split the world into two blocs. Russia has been trying to gather adherents by demonstrating her theories by experiment. The U.S.A., has been trying to gather followers through a planned programme of assistance to developing countries. She has formed such organizations as the NATO and the SEATO to contain communism. While

<sup>13</sup> *Independence and After*, 231, see also, *Sources of Indian Tradition* (2nd ed.), p. 1904,65.

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Russia seems to be amenable to the principle of co-existence, a third nuclear power, China, strides over Asia like a colossus with the object of spreading communism by insidious persuasion and naked violence, if necessary. Events have shown that China's acceptance of *Panchashila* was only a cloak for establishing her hegemony over Asia. For the first time in 1962, after several thousands of years of peaceful cultural contact with India, People's China chose to invade India. After taking what she wanted, she declared a unilateral cease-fire. Pakistan, whichever since its inception has been actively hostile to India, has found an ally in China.

The United Nations Organization is dominated by the big powers in the Security Council each exercising its power of veto according to the exigencies of the situation. With the admission of the newly independent Afro-Asian nations the composition of the Security Council demands a change for effective representation.

To the hatred, fear and jealousy between two blocs must be attributed the cold war, the undeclared war and the threat of destruction by the use of nuclear weapons. We think that the alignment of smaller nations with one or the other of the two blocs is only a glorified form of mediaeval feudalism. By and large, the Euro-American approach to the problems confronting the world of the mid-twentieth century is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe. Each of the big powers does not want any other to grow more powerful than itself. The smaller nations whether they like it or not feel obliged to take sides. In this context, the policy of non-alignment is the only hope for the future of the world; for it opens out the possibility of bridging the gulf between the two opposing blocs. India needs the friendship of both.

The Himalayas are no longer impregnable. As a result of the withdrawal of European powers from the Indian ocean region a vacuum has been created. This vacuum should be filled up by the united effort of the Asian countries in the interests of world peace and here India can play an effective role. The opposition of Asian countries to the establishment of British bases in the Indian ocean should be understood in this context.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it must be stated that the foreign policy of any nation cannot show any consistent or constant principle as it depends on the immediate re-

lations of one country with another. Notice for instance how China from a friendly neighbour turned to be an enemy of India. No South East Asian nation is at present capable of posing a threat to the other nations unless it allies itself with a big power outside the region.

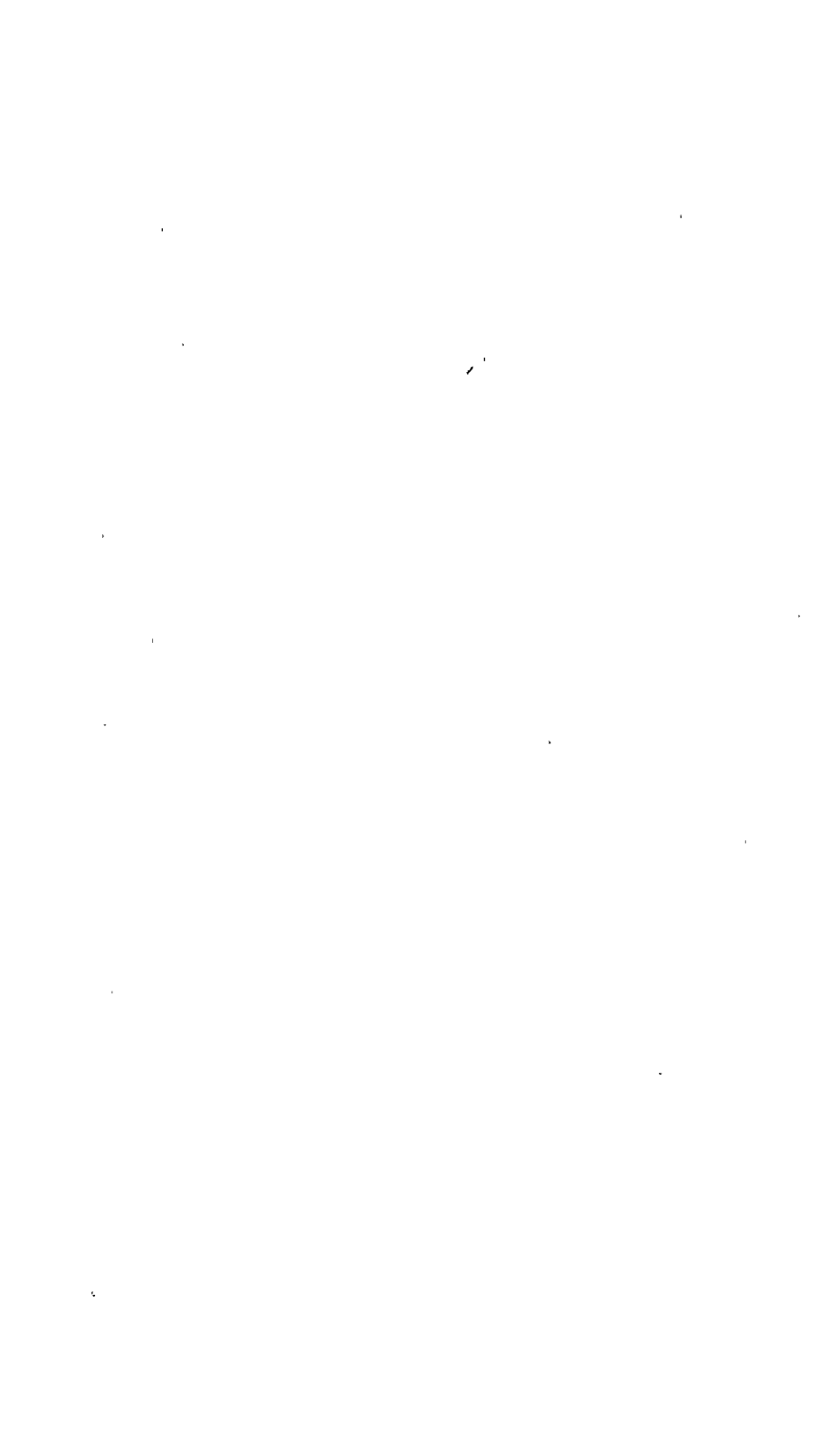
India's avowed policy is to live in peace and be on friendly terms with all as far as possible. But if her territorial integrity or sovereignty is threatened, she must have the power to defend herself effectively. Her foreign policy has to be viewed in this background.

Next to the U.N.O., the Commonwealth of Nations is a potential factor in world affairs. Unfortunately the South African attitude towards coloured races and the unilateral independence of Rhodesian whites have given a rude shock to the Commonwealth.

Britain's attitude towards the Indo-Pak conflict has caused great concern to India. This, we believe, is a passing phase; British diplomacy can tackle the situation successfully.

Military and economic self-sufficiency is being talked about. But inter-dependence is inevitable in international relations. We trust that the U.N.O. will be sufficiently democratized so that it may grow into a world Commonwealth of Nations, facilitating trade and promoting amity among the nations in the world. Realities should on no account be ignored. For example, the People's Government of China, which is recognized by several members of the U.N.O. cannot be permanently shut out of the U.N.O.

India is a land of different ethnic groups, religions and languages; she has however developed a national solidarity which expressed itself unmistakably in the face of Chinese invasion of 1962, and the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965. Her tradition of tolerance and the way her people discharge their duties believing them as service to God, have a message for the world. The future historian will record that Indians in their personal life have, to a remarkable extent, shown goodwill to their difficult neighbours.



## *Chronology*

### B.C.

- 3000 — Beginnings of Indus Valley Civilization.  
2500-1500 — The hey-day of Harappa Culture. Coming of Aryans.  
600 — Close of the later Vedic age of the Brahmanas, Upanishads and Sruties.  
563-483 — The Buddha.  
540-467 — Vardhamana Mahavira.  
422-322 — The Nandeēs of Magadha.  
327-325 — Campaigns of Alexander in the N.W.  
322-298 — Chandragupta Maurya.  
274-237 — Asoka.  
237-185 — Successors of Asoka.  
220 — Approximate date of the establishment of the Sathavahana power in the Deccan.  
184-72 — The Sunga dynasty.  
165 — The Yuch-chi defeated by the Huns.  
162-25 — Yavana Princes in the N.W.  
150 — Khenevela of Kalinga.

### A.D.

- 1-300 — Age of the Sangam in the Tamil Country—Indian Colonization of the East.  
75 — Saka and Pahlava rule in the Punjab.

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- 78 — Accession of Kanishka.  
80-104 — Gautamiputra Satakarni.  
319-20 — Initial year of the Gupta Era.  
380 — Accession of Chandragupta II.  
401-10 — Fa Hien in India.  
450 — First Hun attack on Gupta Empire.  
500-50 — Decline and fall of Gupta power.  
(Toramana and Mihrakula).  
575-600 — Beginning of Pahlava and Pandya rule in the South.  
606-12 — Conquest of Northern India by Harsha.  
620 — Defeat of Harsha by Pulakesin II.  
629-43 — Travels of Hiuen Tsang in India.  
643 — Great Assemblies at Kanauj and Prayag held by Harsha.  
700-28 — Pahlava Narasimhavarma II.  
711-12 — Arab Conquest of Sind.  
730-40 — Yasovarman of Kanauj invades Bengal.  
788-820 — Sankaracharya.  
840-90 — Mihra Bhoja Pratihara.  
985 — Accession of Rajaraja I.  
1001-2 — Mahamud's war with Jaipal.  
1023 — Invasion of Bengal by Rajendra Chola I.  
1026 — Mahamud's expedition against Somanath.  
1100 — Kalhana, the historian of Kashmir.  
1175 — Multan taken by Muhammad Ghori.  
1178 — Accession of Kulothunga III Chola.  
1191-2 — Battles of Tarain—Fall of Prithiviraj.  
1206-90 — The Slave Kings.  
1290-1320 — The Khiljis.  
1320-88 — The Tughlaks.  
1336 — Foundation of Vijayanagar.  
1347 — Foundation of Bhamini Kingdom.  
1398 — Timur's invasion of India.  
1414-51 — The Sayyids.  
1451-1516 — The Lodis.  
1498 — The Coming of the Portuguese.  
1509-29 — Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar.

- 1526-30 — Babar.  
1530-40 — Humayun Emperor.  
1539 — Sherkhan defeated Humayun.  
1540-55 — Humayun in exile.  
1555-56 — Second rule of Humayun.  
1556-1605 — Akbar.  
1605-29 — Jehangir.  
1609 — Dutch factory at Calicut.  
1612 — English Trade opened.  
1623 — Massacre of Amboyna.  
1627 — Birth of Shivaji.  
1627-58 — Shah Jahan.  
1632-53 — Construction of the Taj Mahal.  
1650-1 — English Factory at Hughli.  
1657 — Shivaji's first encounter with the Mughals.  
1658-1707 — Aurangzeb.  
1674 — Shivaji's Coronation at Raigarh.  
1707-9 — Civil war between the sons of Aurangzeb.  
1708 — Murder of Gurina Singh.  
1739 — Peacock throne carried away by Nadir Shah.  
1751 — Clive's occupation and defence of Arcot.  
1758 — Clive made governor of Bengal.  
1760 — Deposition of Mir Jafar; Mir Kasim made Nawab of Bengal.  
1761 — Battle of Panipat.  
1764 — Battle of Buxar — British success.  
1765 — Oudh at the mercy of the English, Northern Circus passed into the hands of the English. Diwani of Bengal conferred on the English.  
1784 — Pitt's India Act.  
1793 — Permanent Revenue Settlement in Bengal.  
1798 — Nizam's subsidiary alliance with the English.  
1802 — Treaty of Bassein.  
1803 — Wellesley's annexations.  
1805 — Recall of Wellesley.  
1813 — Charter Act.  
1818 — Surrender of Baji Rao.  
1824 — The English declared war on Burma.



## *India*

- 1828 — Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General. The Brahma Samaj founded by Rajaram Mohan Roy.
- 1835 — Decision on the Educational policy of the government.
- 1845-6 — The First Sikh war and the treaty of Lahore.
- 1845-50 — Annexations of Dalhousie.
- 1853 — Charter Act.
- 1856 — Act permitting remarriage of widows. Annexation of Oudh.
- 1857 — The Sepoy War.
- 1858 — End of the Company's rule.
- 1869 — Opening of the Suez Canal.
- 1878 — Vernacular Press Act of Lytton.
- 1883 — Ilbert Bill.
- 1883-4 — Ripon's resolution on Local Government.
- 1885 — First meeting of the Indian National Congress.
- 1895 — Reorganization of the army as a unitary force.
- 1903 — Hydro-electric works in Mysore.
- 1904 — Universities reform.
- 1905 — Establishment of the Railway Board.
- 1906 — Foundation of the Muslim League.
- 1907 — Tata Iron and Steel Company founded.
- 1915 — Defence of India Act.
- 1916 — The Congress—League Scheme put forth.
- 1918 — Martial Law in the Punjab.
- 1928 — The Simon Commission's visit to India.
- 1929 — Sarada Act.
- 1930 — Publication of the Simon Commission Report.
- 1930-1 — First Round Table Conference.
- 1931 — Gandhi-Irwin Pact—Second Round Table Conference.
- 1932 — Poona Pact.  
Third Round Table Conference.
- 1933 — White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms.
- 1935 — Government of India Act.
- 1935-6 — End of the political connection of Burma with India.

- 1939 — Resignation of the Congress Ministers.
- 1941 — Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose.
- 1942 — Cripps Mission to India: Quit India demand.
- 1945 — Death of Subhas Chandra Bose.
- 1946 — The Cabinet Mission and the formation of an Interim Government.  
The Constituent Assembly commences work.
- 1947 — The partition of India and the Indian Independence Act.
- 1948 — Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.
- 1950 — 26th January: Coming into force of the New Constitution of India.  
December: Death of Vallabbhai Patel.
- 1954 — India recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet and concluded a treaty, in which the famous *Panch Shila* was incorporated.
- 1962 — October: Indo-china war begins.
- 1964 — May: Death of Jawaharlal Nehru.  
Lal Bahadur becomes Prime Minister.
- 1965 — 14th August—Indo-Pak war begins.
- 1966 — Tashkent Conference:  
January: Death of Lal Bahadur Shastri.  
Indira Gandhi becomes Prime Minister of India.



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